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Situating Moral and Cultural Values in ELT Materials

The Southeast Asian Context

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Incorporating Cultural and Moral Values into ELT Materials in the Context of Southeast Asia (SEA)

Handoyo Puji Widodo, Marianne Rachel Perfecto, Le Van Canh, and Adcharawan Buripakdi

Abstract This chapter provides the rationale behind the integration of values into English language teaching (ELT) materials. It moves on to succinctly describe the sociolinguistic landscape of Southeast Asia (SEA) in order to help the reader understand the sociolinguistic context of the region. The chapter also outlines what each chapter presents. It concludes by pinpointing a pressing need for conducting a myriad of studies on the incorporation of moral and cultural values into ELT materials in which the contexts of studies should go beyond SEA.

Keywords Critical language perspectives • ELT materials • Southeast Asia (SEA) • Values

1 Rationale

The social changes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have been encapsulated in the words 'globalization,' internationalization,' 'localization,' and 'glocalization.' This unprecedented changing sociopolitical climate, to a certain extent, has influenced landscape, theories, and practices of English language teaching on a global scale. The autonomous view of language, according to which

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language is a fixed body of knowledge that can be learned, memorized, and taught through drilling and repetition, has been strongly criticized as being de-contextualized and de-socialized because the use of language is contextually dynamic and fluid depending on the context of situation and the context of culture (Halliday 1978). With this in mind, language is not ideologically neutral, and therefore language teaching is not value-free.

The replacement of the term 'foreign language learning' with '*foreign language education'* manifests that language teaching has social and political purposes embodied more or less in the aims, objectives, and teaching and learning materials of a foreign language course. To put it another way, language teaching is a political act of cultural and social production and reproduction linked to cultural and political ideologies. The ideological nature of language teaching calls for the need to implement critical pedagogy in language programs. Critical pedagogy aims to empower teachers and learners to be aware of the underlying cultural and moral values and ideologies of the educational setting and society in order to become social transformers. This indicates that the ultimate goal of English language education should become more than just linguistic competence and communicative competence. In addition to the ability to use English for effective global communication, students ought to be able to pose problems and solve problems in a rational manner, to experience compassion towards others, and to be willing and able to manage conflict and contradiction and resolve differences in a moral manner, for example. The attainment of such goals is not determined by particular teaching methods but rather by the ways students view knowledge, authority, power, and social values.

In this work, we define values as a culturally situated moral entity, which guides individuals to think, feel, behave, and act in their social environments. We also contend that thinking, feeling, and doing morally are contextually tied to cultural norms and social systems. In some case, moral values can be shaped by cultural norms. For instance, in Indonesia, younger people have to kiss parents' right hand to show respect and an intimate child-parent relationship. This hand kissing ritual also indicates asking for a parent blessing. This moral doing is culturally situated. Additionally, cultural values also reflect morality. For instance, in the Javanese culture, to some extent, getting a divorce is not morally appropriate because this act will embarrass the whole family. This also shows that couples are not committed to maintaining their family. "As a culture changes and evolves, the moral worldview of the members of that culture will likely face transformation as well" (Robertson et al. 2012, p. 100). Thus, culture and morality is a socially constructed entity, which shapes values in social practice.

English Language Teaching (ELT) has long been predominantly constructed within the epistemological boundaries shaped by the traditional conceptions of theoretical constructs of linguistics, applied linguistics, learning theories, and teaching methodology. What tends to be normally ignored in the shadow of such notions is the underlying belief structure that shapes the foundations of ELT practice. Johnston (2003) argues that language teaching has been viewed as psycholinguistically-oriented language acquisition. This teaching puts emphasis on techniques, activities, and methods. He also points out that while it has long been recognized in general education that teaching is a moral act, and teachers are moral agents, the

moral nature of teaching has hardly ever been discussed in the professional literature of ELT. Johnson et al. (1998) add that morality is conceptualized as the negotiation of judgments about what is good and bad as well as what is right and wrong, when these judgments are made in social settings. Johnston (2003) contends that "it is only by confronting the moral complexity and ambiguity of our teaching that we can hope to identify the good and right things to do in any given set of circumstances, that is, to know the right way to teach" (p. 21).

When we talk about the value or moral dimension of ELT, we should not look at the way morality or value is conceptualized in moral/value education. To be more specific, morality/value in English language teaching is not a set of prescribed constraints that teachers are expected to teach seperately. The job of the English language teacher is to develop, through language, learners' critical perspectives on, and attitudes towards themselves, their own people, people from other cultures, their own national values, and other nations' values. In the context where English has become a language of globalization and internationalization, teaching English is a capacity-building act. This means that English learners are well-equipped with multimodal competence, such as linguistic (lexico-grammatical) competence (e.g., the use of vocabulary and grammar in a communicative event), intercultural communicative competence (e.g., the use of language in an intercultural encounter), discourse competence (e.g., the use of language to convey multilayered meanings), sociolinguistic competence (e.g., the use of language based on particular social norms), socio-pragmatic competence (e.g., the use of language in an appropriately cultural manner), and moral competence (e.g., the use of language in a moral way).

In the era of postmodernism, many scholars in Applied Linguistics (e.g., Pennycook 1990) inspired by Freire's (1970) Critical Pedagogy have espoused the idea that any kind of pedagogy should challenge the ideological, sociopolitical, and historical forces with the aim of empowering learners to acquire the required knowledge and social skills to be able to function as critical agents in a society (Giroux 1988). The absence of a critical view on the teaching and role of English internationally or globally has been criticized by scholars of critical pedagogy (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1990). From a critical pedagogy perspective, the thrust of learning (not just language learning) should move towards empowering learners to be active citizens. As such, learning English should go beyond linguistic competence; it should also encompass the knowledge about culture(s) in which English is embedded and the culture of English language users—whether in the inner (e.g., US, UK), outer (e.g., India, Singapore) or expanding circles (e.g., China, Japan). In other words, the use of English should go beyond the inner-outer-expanding discourse.

While critical pedagogy has been around in the ELT profession for decades (Canagarajah 2005), it has yet to be reflected in ELT materials development. So, the English language teachers' job as transformative intellectuals is to coach learners through various linguistic experiences and reflections – reading, writing, speaking, and listening – in order that they can develop their critical thinking about values embedded in learning materials. Therefore, when we teach English, we teach by necessity moral and cultural values. In doing so, we, English language teachers, are helping people live humanely and intelligently with strategies for exploring morally right and wrong in any domain of life.

As English has gained the status of a global or international (lingua franca) language (Renandya and Widodo 2016), the demands of English have been growing dramatically in Southeast Asia (hereafter, SEA) where the teaching and learning of English is almost synonymous with foreign language learning (Alcoberes 2016). From the critical pedagogy perspective, English language education in Southeast Asian countries need to aim at developing a new concept of identity, an Asian identity by locating English language education in their social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. Within the locus of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), English language education should be geared to enhance human resources (human capital) management; that is, training learners in academic, vocational, and professional domains to become capable of using English as a means of regional integration within the ASEAN region as well as a tool for transnational communication beyond the region. Language teachers play key roles not merely in teaching students sets of language skills, but also in helping students become fully aware of their values that their society members hold and respect socio-historically and socio culturally. Although all English language teaching (ELT) materials are laden explicitly or implicitly with moral and cultural values, rare current literature clearly spells out how such values are locally situated in ELT materials (e.g., textbooks, sourcebooks, handouts) in the SEA context. For instance, textbooks "represent the visible heart of an ELT programme" (Sheldon 1988, p. 237). In most Southeast Asian countries, locally-produced English language textbooks are in use alongside with internationally commercial textbooks. While the literature on the evaluation of the underlying ideologies of Western global ELT textbooks, there has been a limited evaluation of the locally-produced textbooks (Matsuda 2002), at least in the Southeast Asian context. The present volume, which discusses this issue in the context of Southeast Asian countries, is an endeavor to fill the gap in the ELT materials development literature. As Christian-Smith (1991) has pointed out, "neither a book nor its knowledge is neutral or interest-free" (p. 50). As such, values embedded in textbooks cannot be ignored because teaching materials such as textbooks are part of a system enforcing a sense of responsibility, morality, and cultural coherence.

We argue that by examining cultural and moral values presented in ELT materials, a teacher would be able to assist students in maintaining their own cultural identities and moral values of which society members think highly. In short, today's English language teaching is more than teaching English but nurturing students how the use of English is guided by particular values. Moreover, integrating moral and cultural values into ELT materials helps language learners gain an awareness of how learning another or additional language is responsibly tied to morality and culture. As pointed out earlier, we contend that morality and culture is a single entity that shapes how students learn to think, feel, behave, act, and relate to others in a more multiculturally diverse world. For this reason, it is indispensable for us as SEA scholars to articulate our moral and cultural values in our ELT materials through a scholarly book publication and promote the idea that learning English means valuing a full baggage of morality and culture situated in social domains of life. Guided by these aims, our volume is geared to explore the specific ways in which moral and cultural values underlie various features of language learning contents and tasks in

ELT materials. Thus, the emphasis of the present text is placed on positioning moral and cultural values in the materials so that these materials serve as a silent agent of capitalizing on students' unique personal, moral, and cultural identities, thus allowing students to maintain their own moral and cultural identities while learning English as an additional language.

Situating Moral and Cultural Values in ELT Materials: The Southeast Asian Context accentuates how ELT materials can be a mediation of addressing moral and cultural values, which are more locally grounded in respective SEA countries. Scarce literature in the area of ELT materials development specifically addresses how these values inform the design of language classroom materials (Alcoberes 2016). Because each of the chapters was written by different contributing authors who are privy to the context of a respective SEA country, the volume provides fresh insight into how values are uniquely embodied in language classroom materials. In this regard, each contributing author voices different moral and cultural values, which are historically rooted in their own sociocultural context. Pedagogically speaking, the volume can be a more practical and accessible guide or resource book for English language teachers or practitioners who would like to include more specific values in their own English classroom materials. Lastly, the volume brings together conceptual and practical grounds for adding moral and cultural values to ELT materials development in such a way that it views morality and culture as a mutually complementing entity. In other words, this work, which includes both morality and culture in language classroom materials, sheds light on valuing morality and culture while learning another or additional language in different SEA-situated contexts.

2 The Sociolinguistic Landscape of Southeast Asia (SEA)

In order to understand how values are incorporated into ELT materials in the SEA context, it is important for the reader to get a picture of the sociolinguistic landscape of this region. Southeast Asia is a home to linguistically and culturally diverse countries, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), and East Timor (Timor-Leste). This linguistic and cultural diversity is a distinctive feature of SEA. In SEA, hundreds of languages are spoken, and perhaps thousands, not documented, are spoken. National or official languages in the SEA region include Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) in Indonesia; Malay (Bahasa Melayu) in Malaysia; English, Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil in Singapore; Filipino (Tagalog) and English in the Philippines; Thai in Thailand; Malay and English in Brunei; Vietnamese (Vietnam); Khmer (Cambodia); Lao in Laos; Burmese in Myanmar; and Tetum and Portuguese in East Timor. These national and official languages are socially in contact with local languages and dialects. On another note, Goddard (2005, p. 30) observed that major languages in SEA include Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu (200 million speakers), Javanese

(75 million speakers), Sundanese (30 million speakers), and Filipino (50 million speakers). Nowadays, the number of speakers of these major languages may increase.

Each of the SEA countries is also rich in regional or local languages and dialects. Most of the SEA people are multilingual. In the linguistic landscape, bilingualism or multilingualism is common language practices generally shaped by national language policies. For example, Indonesians speak at least two languages, Bahasa Indonesia and a local language or a dialect. Bahasa Indonesia is commonly used in interethnic communication. Major languages in Indonesia include Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, Malay, Sundanese, Madurese, Minangkabau, Balinese, Buginese, Sasak, and Toba Batak. These languages are mutually unintelligible (Ansaldo 2009). In multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual Singapore, English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese are spoken in which "English has now become not only the most important lingua franca but also the dominant language in daily usage amongst the majority of Singaporeans, especially the young" (Tan 2016, p. 11).

Culturally speaking, SEA countries comprise diverse major and minor ethnic groups that use local or indigenous languages. Four of the oldest known language families are found in Southeast Asia: Austroasiatic (e.g., Vietnamese), Sino-Tibetan (e.g., Chinese, Burmese), Tai-Kadai (Thai, Lao), and Austronesian (e.g., Malay, Tagalog) (Siddique 2008). These ethnic groups engage in different cultural and social practices. Such diverse practices range from "agricultural practices (upland versus lowland), habits of domicile, beliefs systems and communication patterns" (Acharya 2013, p. 7). Additionally, they follow different religions, which are socio-historically and socio-geographically landscaped. Influences came from China, India, the Middle East, and much later from Western Europe and North America, thus resulting in a mix of different religions (Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Confucianism) that also had to co-exist with the indigenous religions in each country. Diverse ethnicities, religions, and cultures shape or construct identities of SEA people. The diverse cultural landscape of the SEA countries (except for Thailand which was never colonized) is further shaped by the colonial powers that once occupied them, thus adding to the values and beliefs that are in conflict. That ethnic, religious and cultural diversity explains why there are competing and conflicting value systems and the interconnection among those systems in SEA countries. Despite some regional social and cultural commonalities among Southeast Asians such as beliefs in hard work, thrift, honesty, self-discipline, regard for education, respect for enterprise, concern over family stability, and respect and courtesy towards elders, not all communities in the region possess all these traits. Even for those that possess many of them, they are far from having identical characteristics. King (2008, p. 17) has observed that

> … there are linkages between Theravada Buddhist cultures of Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka, similarities between Vietnamese and Chinese Mahayana Buddhism, the shared features of Malay/Indonesian Islam and that of northern India and the Middle East, parallels between Hinduism in Bali and India, and between Philippine Catholicism and that of the Christian world of the Americas and Europe.

It is this sociocultural and linguistic complexity as well as their rich and varied history that make Southeast Asia (SEA) distinctive from East Asia and South Asia. However, the sociocultural, linguistic, and racial boundaries of SEA are permeable, blurred, fluid, and shifting. In such a sociocultural context, the notion of 'Southeast Asian values' should be understood as a discursive construct, relational, and subject to constant negotiation and change as multilingual and multicultural mobility continues to evolve.

Historically, most of the SEA countries were colonized by Westerners. Therefore, Southeast Asians have been active agents shaping their own histories. Their dynamic response to the opportunities and constraints generated in their encounter with the outside world is an important contributor to the construction, maintenance, and transformation of their cultural identities. Entering the twenty-first century, SEA countries, like any other countries around the globe, are confronted with numerous political, social, cultural, economic, and moral challenges such as terrorism, climate change, cultural and ethnic conflicts, and moral degradation. In order to deal with these challenges, SEA countries need to equip their young generations with necessary competence (e.g., knowledge, skills, attitude-value, experience, and literacy) enabling them to respond to and interact effectively with the global cultural processes generated primarily in the West and to become responsible citizens in a globalized civil society. Since values are symbolically created and re-created in the course of social change, moral and cultural values are located in "the field of language and discourse" (Jayasuriya 1997, p. 21). In this regard, the teaching of English as a global lingua franca plays a pivotal role in educating learners how to engage in the search for the new, authentic selves at the personal, community, and national levels.

The English language in South East Asia (SEA) is a legacy of the political past. The spread of English in the region is through its colonies and geopolitical dominance. Therefore, the status of English in SEA is present in ex-Western empire colonies, except for Thailand. Although the empire has faded decades ago, it cannot be denied that the roles of English in this region are in place and still increasing in a number of domains; namely, commerce, science technology, diplomacy, arts, and formal education. It is also evident that English, a truly global language, has become the main *de facto* lingua franca in this region. Historically, English paved its way to gain its place in a new land and facilitated worldwide international communication. Among ASEAN member nations, English has also been adopted and developed as a mutual means of communication. Particularly within today's ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) context where "Southeast Asia's economic integration" rests on "four pillars – a single market and production base, a competitive economic region, equitable economic development, and integration into the global economy" (Rüland 2016, p. 1130). This suggests that the movement or mobility of people and resources across the country's border can be done freely. In this social mobility, English has gained more recognition and has been actively promoted not only as an official ASEAN language but also as a lingua franca in the region to be prepared for this AEC integration.

In the post-colonial period, English has gained a hegemonic position and been serving the people and the community in SEA with a different status—ranging from an official language, as a result of the legacy of the colonial past for example in Singapore and Malaysia, to a foreign language and an additional language. In Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Philippines, English is heavily promoted as the required foreign language of higher education. Except in Indonesia, English has not been announced as a compulsory subject in a primary school (Kirkpatrick 2014). It is good to note that English used in some areas in this region is viewed as an additional language thanks to its practical contexts where English is not used on a daily basis. English in SEA has developed to the point that people speak their own English—the so called Asian varieties of English, encoding the different cultures of their speakers (Kirkpatrick 2014).

English demand in SEA is growing locally and internally. English currently exercises two integrated roles in SEA. One serves as a regional and international lingua franca, and the other acts as local varieties of English, which reflect local values and beliefs of their people. Under this changing linguistic landscape, some people learn and use English with different reasons. Compared to the older generations, younger generations in most SEA countries, in particular, learn English for practical rather than ideological reasons. It is thus quite a challenge for this scholarship to see how an ideological, moral, and cultural role of ELT materials has shifted and played in the English classroom. Politically and culturally speaking, the function of English and its hegemonic position in the current SEA landscape where there are rich and diverse cultural backgrounds have assigned English in such a community a higher prestigious status than other foreign languages. With this in mind, Kirkpatrick (2014) points out that "the role of English as a lingua franca in this region has reached its zenith or whether it is likely to take on new roles and in new domains which are divorced from Anglo-cultural influences" (p. 427). The growth of English used on the Internet shows the increasing practical need of English usage in a new cultural sphere. This digital technology can mediate the widespread use of English beyond the physical multicultural and plurilinguistic domain.

3 What Does the Book Tell the Reader?

This volume features critical studies on locally-produced ELT materials (textbooks) situated in eight SEA countries: Timor-Leste, Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Thailand. While the respective governments of these countries have "agendas" imposed on textbook publishers, a historical view on what values grounded culture and morality have been imparted in the past and present would be useful. The evaluation of textbooks might help determine if the colonial past of many of these countries have left traces of 'foreign culture,' and whether there has been effort on the part of the authorities to minimize these foreign influences and to inject local culture, hence local values. It would also be interesting to see if there are emergent forms of a 'universal culture' in the materials, and if

these new values are as universal as they are intended to be. Moreover, in this volume, the investigation aims to explore the evidence of cultural bias that might be presented or hidden in local textbooks (materials) in the context of the study. In this context, there will be attempts by the contributors to also revisit newer concepts like 'globalized textbooks' to see if universal values are seen as the fabric of what makes textbooks global or to interrogate language materials as agents of moral and cultural values.

This volume begins with chapter "Addressing Sexual Moralities in ELT Materials: When Diverse Cultures Meet" by Roslyn Appleby, which directly addresses critical pedagogy and moral education issues in language classrooms. Grounded in a case study methodology, the chapter directs the spotlight to an English classroom in Timor-Leste, the site of a diverse cultural background. This study highlights the shortcomings of commercial texts in engaging students to discuss sensitive topics/issues, such as sexual orientation and gender values. Appleby shares the experience of a female teacher of English in a development aid program in Timor-Leste. She attempts to address the teacher's critical role in empowering her students. In this class, the teacher failed to engage students with the moral education topics. Instead of focusing on planned tasks drawn from the textbooks, the students were more interested in discussing their own agenda: personal and political ones. Importantly, the teacher lacked experience and was not in a position to confidently address the issues with the students through the selected textbooks.

In chapter "Critiquing Culture in Reading Materials Used by ESL Private Middle Schools in the Philippines: A Critical Literacy Perspective", Marianne Perfecto and Michelle Paterno highlight the tension between English language teaching and a critical stance in reading texts in the Philippine context. Within the critical pedagogy framework, in this chapter, they examined the attempt to promote a more critical pedagogy practice in the English classroom. The study gains more insight by closely reading materials, two textbooks used in middle schools in the Philippines. It is revealed that the textbooks aim at developing language skills. Yet, to a certain degree, they recognize the importance of moral education by including universal values. Unfortunately, the texts provide a very little space for teachers and students to develop a more critical discussion on moral issues in the classroom in spite of the promise of the critical lens. Most of them are geared towards language learning, reading comprehension, and language exercises, with no clear critical pedagogical agenda underlying the textbook.

Wu Mei and Gene Navera in chapter "ELT Materials as Sites of Values Education: A Preliminary Observation of Secondary School Materials" address critical literacy by focusing on ELT materials in Singapore. White's (2002) appraisal framework was employed to examine a close reading of the selected texts. The study also interviewed the two textbook writers to gain more insight. This investigation aimed to justify whether the texts could be used as sites of value education in ELT. The study showed that the materials embedded with moral and cultural items had been echoed in the classroom. The selected materials used in Singapore secondary schools showed the promise of moral and cultural entities relevant to the learners. However, the issues were not yet prioritized and addressed in the classroom practice. Generally,

textbooks were written primarily for language learning. The writers avoided addressing sensitive and controversial topics and issues that teachers might not be ready to discuss. This study argues that a textbook has meaning potential within a critical framework, but it will remain only a resource without teachers' involvement and empowerment.

In chapter "Analysing the Integration of Moral and Cultural Values through ELT Reading Materials in Malaysian ESL Classrooms", Gurnam Sidhu, Sarjit Kaur, and Chan Fook report the findings of their investigation into the way Malaysian EFL teachers integrate moral values into their ESL literature classes. It is found that the students did not find the reading texts engaging due to their limited coverage of the local culture. Also, the teachers seemed to be more successful in integrating moral values into their teaching than they did in cultural values. However, the teachers also reported that they did not feel confident enough in engaging the students in looking critically into moral issues embedded in the reading texts. Neither did they feel required to do that as they perceived that their main responsibility was to develop the students' linguistic competence for the examination. Evidently, this should be a concern for teacher educators.

Like the case of Malaysia, Sovannarith Lim and Chan Keuk report, in chapter "A Sociocultural Analysis of Cambodian Teachers' Cognitions about Cultural Contents in an 'Internationally Imported' Textbook in a Tertiary English Learning Context", Cambodian EFL university teachers' perceived difficulties and challenges in implementing critical pedagogy to deal with cultural and moral values represented in internationally published textbooks. The teachers were unaware of the relevance of critical pedagogy in EFL instruction. Instead, the teachers still believed in the dominance of the culture of the English-speaking countries despite the fact that Cambodian students were expected to use English to communicate with citizens from within and outside the ASEAN community. The belief that the teachers held regarding cultural and moral values in EFL, according to the authors, was rooted in their professional competence, which failed to challenge their established cognition about the monolithic view of ELT practice in order to accept critical perspectives within their local educational system. While the authors argue that materials developers need to take into account the ASEAN dynamic cultural and moral values, critical pedagogy is more than the formal integration of local values in the materials.

Chapter "A Critical Analysis of Moral Values in Vietnam-Produced EFL Textbooks for Upper Secondary Schools" written by Le Van Canh argues that because language is a social practice, language teaching should not just focus on developing language competencies of the learners, but should also aim to develop the learners' ethical identity. In doing so, English learners recognize their transformative role in the political and sociocultural realities of the world. Using content analysis anchored in critical language pedagogies, Le Van Canh analyzed Vietnam-produced EFL textbooks for upper secondary schools. Although the content and learning tasks in the ELT materials reflect both Vietnamese and universal values, these do not really develop the learners' critical thinking so that they can critique "… with an eye to transforming social relations and conditions" (Luke 2012, p. 8).

In chapter "A Critical Micro-semiotic Analysis of Values Depicted in the Indonesian Ministry of National Education-Endorsed Secondary School English

Textbook", Handoyo Widodo contends that ELT textbooks are a curriculum artifact that needs to be examined for the ideological, political, social, and cultural forces that shape these texts. This critical stance becomes even more important in the context of Indonesia where all schools are required to integrate character education into all school subjects. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), Widodo analyzed the Indonesian Ministry of Education-approved secondary school English textbook widely used in the country to examine values portrayed in the textbook. He found that the textbook does not really integrate values into the teaching of English, but it merely lists these values. Additionally, the discussion of values is limited to values in narrative texts despite the presence of these values in the visual elements of the textbook. Widodo, thus, recommends that both teachers and students be trained in critical engagement with texts in order to interrogate how the values are depicted in various text types (e.g., a narrative, an information report) presented in different genres (e.g., a book story, a newspaper, or a resume).

Among the principles that McKay (2011) posits should inform a "socially sensitive ELF pedagogy" (p. 136) is the need for English to be taught in a "way that respects the local culture of learning" (p. 136). Chapter "Integrating Moral Education into Language Education in Asia: Guidelines for Materials Writers" begins with this premise and claims that the content and skills emphasized in most ELT materials are based on native speaker norms and reality. Saneh Thongrin proposes a framework for materials development grounded in critical pedagogy, intercultural communication, and moral education, and provides materials writers with a set of guidelines for designing learning objectives, teaching methods, class activities, and learning assessment tools. Such materials aim to develop language learners that are culturally sensitive, globally and culturally competent communicators, and critical and ethical local and global citizens. Saneh's chapter examples of ELT materials (e.g., learning tasks) are grounded in his teaching experience in Thailand where cultural and moral values are shaped by religions (e.g., Buddism and Islam), for instance.

In the last chapter, we emphasize the role of context in the design of ELT materials. The discourse of context plays a role in re-situating the design and use of language materials in order to serve different English language learners' needs. We then point out that language materials are seen as a cultural artifact that can feature different cultural and moral values. Because the focus of this book is on values, we argue for urgent needs for including values in ELT materials. Lastly, we offer practical guidelines for value-based language materials design and use.

4 Looking Forward

In summary, within the critical pedagogy framework, the research findings drawn from the studies in the different sites confirm the notion that the ESL/EFL textbooks and other genres of materials used in the SEA context, to some extent, do not place much emphasis on value issues. Entering the twenty-first century, ELT in SEA is now facing increasingly complex and dynamic environments and inputs. Evolving

challenges and unpredictable changes in a society are inevitably and clearly present. In this respect, it is hard to deny that these tremendous changes in political, social, and scientific concerns have tremendously influenced moral and cultural issues, which have been rooted at both individual and community levels. It is likely that these changes, to some extent, have an impact on teachers' or learners' ways of life and classroom dynamics because their impact might be so powerful that it is hard to resist. Within this changing direction, to understand moral education in an ELT context of SEA in this volume is to interrogate cultural and moral contents embedded in ELT materials (e.g., textbooks) and to look at teachers' and learners' perspectives on the messages presented in the materials. Over the last three decades, the focus of many researchers working in the area of second or foreign language (L2) pedagogy is on cultural elements entrenched in ELT materials (textbooks). There is no denying that textbooks not only serve as a crucial resource for reaffirming particular ideologies to language learners and society, but they also have meaning potentials with constructed power relations.

Where language classrooms bring vastly different cultural and moral outlooks of teachers and students, this edited volume argues that values or moral education in ELT in Southeast Asia (SEA) is needed to be developed and established. To do so, it needs teacher support for incorporating morals, values, and practices into language classrooms with understanding and care. First of all, teachers need to be careful of their own cultural prejudices and sensitivity carried along in the classroom. As suggested by the research insights, teachers should play a significant role as a responsible agent to be involved with developing moral and cultural content in the classroom in their site. Practically, teachers may engage students with teaching materials, the simulation and explanation where materials are clearly implicit or the learners explicitly demonstrate the lack of awareness of value issues. Novice teachers and entry-level teachers, in particular, should be equipped with clear and appropriate guidelines. Some of them may feel that the coverage of the cultural and moral values is beyond their responsibility. Some may find teaching materials not suitable or too foreign for them to identify with. Hence, they should be trained how to use textbooks and to deal with value-laden content. Moral/value education in ELT cannot come into reality if teachers themselves are unaware of the issue, nor do they grab an opportunity to influence learners in their educational practices related to value issues. Infusing cultural values into language classrooms should not be viewed as a curricular luxury but meaningful integration into the curriculum.

On the whole, many interesting implications concerning values embedded in ELT materials (e.g., textbooks) can be drawn from this volume. It is our hope that readers will be challenged by the perspectives adopted by the contributors to this volume on the moral dimension embedded in the ELT materials. We also hope that scholars, materials developers, and classroom teachers will feel inspired to undertake research in their own contexts, thereby theorizing the issue of values in the teaching of English as an international language (EIL) or English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Marlina and Giri 2014). Moreover, the chapters presented in the volume can be a catalyst for extending or continuing the scholarship of integration of moral/value education and ELT materials. ELT materials can be crucial agents of promot-

ing moral and cultural values uniquely anchored in particular classroom contexts. It is important to note that moral and cultural norms become the locus of ELT materials so that learners remain to recognize their own moral and cultural resources while learning English as a means of communication. Although the calls for the incorporation of moral/value education into school curricula have attracted the attention of educators in the area of ELT, there is rare empirical research on how moral/value education informs the development of language classroom materials. We contend that including values in language classrooms helps both teachers and learners discuss and promote varied norms, beliefs, and traditions that different members of society hold. To this end, classroom materials should relate to social issues, such as environmental sensitivity, global peace, and stories illustrating appropriate societal values and attitudes (courage, honesty, hard work, tolerance) so that learners are fully aware of moral and cultural values from local and global perspectives. Therefore, there is a pressing need for conducting a myriad of studies on the incorporation of moral and cultural values into ELT materials in which the contexts of studies should go beyond the context of Southeast Asia (SEA).

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Addressing Sexual Moralities in ELT Materials: When Diverse Cultures Meet

Roslyn Appleby

Abstract This chapter is concerned with the way sexual moralities and values are addressed in the design of English language teaching (ELT) materials. It discusses the shortcomings of commercial ELT materials available to address sensitive topics, and illustrates the challenges and possibilities of engaging with gender and sexuality through a case study of ELT for development aid in Timor Leste. In this example, teachers and students with vastly different cultural and moral outlooks pool their resources and expertise to design their own materials and investigate a sensitive issue of local concern. The chapter concludes that where language classrooms bring together participants with diverse backgrounds, such issues need to be recognised and negotiated with care, and teachers need to be mindful of their own cultural values and biases when using or designing teaching materials.

Keywords Cultural values • English language teaching • ELT materials • Gender and sexuality • International development

1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the ways in which sexual moralities and values may be addressed in the design and use of English language teaching (ELT) materials. It focuses specifically on ELT as a component of international development aid, a context that brings together teachers and students from vastly different cultural and economic backgrounds. The chapter aims to offer insights into the way that foreign teachers may design and activate materials to engage with students' concerns over highly sensitive questions of intercultural sexual politics. In this particular area of concern, there has been little published research literature that offers guidance and encouragement to English language teachers. More broadly, the chapter aims to contribute to our understanding of a significant aspect of regional geopolitics: that

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is, the intercultural relationships brought about by Australian English language teaching programmes in the nations of Southeast Asia.

The chapter begins by briefly discussing some of the moral and cultural problems identified in commercial ELT materials, and then outlines some specific challenges of ELT in the context of international development programmes. These challenges are brought to life in a case study of ELT in Timor Leste. The case study focuses on Australian teachers' accounts of designing teaching materials for the development context and negotiating sensitive issues to do with sexual morality and values in the cultural contact zone where teachers' and students' communities interact.

Before I begin, a word on terminology might be useful for the reader. In this chapter, I use the word 'materials' to include not only commercially produced textbooks, but also a broader range of 'texts' (in the broader post-structural sense) that might be produced or designed by the teacher, the students, or collaboratively by both. Such textual materials might include, for example, structured discussions and presentations (based on student scripts or notes), student journals produced with teacher guidance, maps and diagrams, notes and lists on flip-charts and wall posters, or worksheets comprising collaboratively designed questionnaires.

2 Values in ELT Materials

In recent decades, a body of research literature has presented critiques of commercially published ELT textbook materials, particularly in regard to the importation and imposition of problematic social, moral and cultural values. Such textbooks have been criticised for their emphasis on Anglo-centric cultural and social situations (Tomlinson 2008), and their sanitized, synthetic, "one size fits all" content which excludes any reference to sensitive topics such as politics, religion, drugs, alcohol, sex, and '–isms'(Gray 2002, p. 166). Textbooks designed to reflect an international setting are said to position non-Western cultures "superficially and insensitively" (Tomlinson 2008, p. 320), to de-privilege knowledge derived from practice at a local level, and to reduce the complexities of the world by presenting a simplified Western viewpoint that generally assumes a materialistic set of values and a concern with activities such as leisure pursuits and travel (Gray 2010a; Forman 2014). The selection and presentation of situations, tasks and values in textbooks have also been implicated in the shaping of available social roles for students. In this regard, it is important to consider not only explicit social identities which are drawn for learners but also to reflect further on what is excluded from textbooks and curricula. The absence of depictions and learning tasks that might challenge existing inequitable economic and social situations suggests that this exclusion fails to prepare students for what they might encounter in daily life, and so potentially reinforces a sense of individual alienation or helplessness.

Numerous analyses of textbook content have also found fault with the way that gender is represented in teaching materials. Early content analyses from the 1970s

and 1980s reported stereotyped gender representation of women and men in ELT materials. More recently, and reflecting the widespread influence of feminism and the 'new capitalism', Gray (2010a, p. 714) observes that images of women have been co-opted to bolster a neo-liberal message of individualism, economic achievement, and career success (see also Gray 2010b). Studies of textbook content can, however, tend to overlook how texts relating to gender could be reinterpreted and resisted by teachers and students. Some research studies on language learning and gender identity have moved away from an exclusive analysis of textual content and towards a greater concern with activity and interaction *around* the text. Empirical studies of these interactions have demonstrated the ways in which teachers adapt the overt messages and values represented in published materials in order to suit the interests and circumstances of particular situations (see, for example, Mills and Mustapha 2015; Sunderland et al. 2001).

While studies of gender representation are now quite common, there are relatively few studies that focus on the ways in which ELT materials address more challenging issues of sexuality, sexual identity, sexual behaviour, or sexual morality (though see, for example, Nelson 2009; Higgins and Norton 2010). Indeed, these issues are almost always absent from standard teaching materials. Yet in some development contexts, they may be of crucial importance to host communities.

3 ELT and Gender in the Context of International Development

English language teaching (ELT) in the context of international development poses specific challenges for both teachers and students, and has significant implications for the process of procuring or designing suitable teaching materials. International development programmes have historically been understood as a means of promoting prosperity in developing countries by funding assistance programmes in areas such as education, health care, effective governance and the promotion of gender equality. Viewed through the lens of critical theory, however, international development and the teaching of English in development programmes have been interpreted as a means of extending colonial relationships, and reproducing colonial and patriarchal discourses and hierarchies in the development context (Appleby 2010).

The hierarchies implicit in development may also be implicit in the teaching of English. Educational development programmes that provide English language courses often entail sending teachers from the relatively wealthy Anglophone 'core' to poorer 'periphery' locations where they may work with colleagues and students from vastly different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds. Negotiating these differences can be challenging for teachers and, as suggested above, most commercially available ELT textbooks and resource materials offer little assistance in addressing sensitive issues such as economic disparity and exploitation or religious and cultural beliefs and practices in relation to gender and sexuality.

In an attempt to avoid the shortcomings associated with curricula based on commercially produced textbooks, some development projects have adopted task-based and experiential learning projects that are designed to foster learners' confidence and skills in identifying and addressing important issues in their own communities by designing, with teacher guidance, their own contextually appropriate materials. Such approaches typically draw on learner interests and local contexts to shift from teacher-assigned materials and activities to tasks based on materials which participants design, initiate and complete themselves under the guidance of a teacher-facilitator. These tasks and associated materials would be based on an understanding of the contextual constraints that limit the opportunities of marginalised communities and would, ideally, be facilitated by a teacher who comes from the same community as the learners. However, these principles may be jeopardised the case where foreign, 'First World' teachers are deployed in international development projects; in such cases, the foreign teacher may arrive with little understanding of the cultural history, values and priorities of the communities in which they are to work. Thus, while task-based materials may, in theory, be designed to simulate 'real life' activities relevant to the learners' local context, they may not necessarily engage with the broader social, cultural, political, and historical particularities that shape learners' lives and opportunities (Ellis 2003).

From the perspective of foreign teachers working in a development context, the collaborative design of materials for task-based learning may also be influenced by donors and their partner institutions. Given the pressure to comply with donor and institutional expectations, collaboratively designed materials and activities may engage learners with 'real world' tasks, but these tasks may ultimately serve to assimilate learners into the neo-liberal economic and political goals of powerful institutions, rather than prompting interrogation or transformation of prevailing conditions. Thus, while task-based materials can open possibilities for activities that engage with the lived experience of learners, there may be significant difficulties with implementing this approach in a meaningful and transformative way in development contexts.

Foreign teachers drawing from the experiences and interests of local students to design or guide the development of task-based, contextualised materials therefore face particular challenges. There are significant risks associated with using teacher authority to represent, appropriate, or territorialise students' or local communities' culture, and engaging with students' lived experience requires sensitivity to cultural differences and student privacy. Ideally, in such cases, the teacher's engagement with issues of gender and sexuality can allow learners to communicate their personal views and experiences in a new language, thereby opening up possibilities for mutual learning. But there is a danger that these practices may also be read as coercive or as an act of intrusion that draws private lives into the domain of institutional power and risks colonising the learner as "fodder for pedagogic talk and … public display" (Kramsch and van Hoene 2001, p. 299). Moreover, foreign teachers aiming to incorporate an explicit focus on gender equality, the empowerment of women, or sexual rights, can also be seen as imposing outsider cultural values and reinforcing a moral hierarchy between developed and developing nations.

4 A Case Study of English Language Teaching in East Timor or Timor-Leste

To illustrate the challenges and possibilities of engaging with gender and sexuality in English language teaching (ELT) materials, I turn now to a case study of ELT as part of an international aid programme in Timor-Leste. The case study is based on the account of an Australian English language teacher, referred to by the pseudonym 'Carol,' and is drawn from a larger research project that examined the experiences of female teachers of English in development aid programmes in Southeast Asia (Appleby 2010). The larger research project aimed to explore the relationship between English language teaching and the context of international development. In the case study at the heart of this chapter, the following key research questions are pertinent:

- How are ELT materials used and/or designed in the context of international development and with what consequences?
- How are ELT materials experienced through discourses of gender, sexuality, and race?

The research project was conducted in two phases. The first phase was based on an ethnographic study of my own experience of teaching English language to university students in a development programme in Timor-Leste. I focused, in particular, on the ways in which my own taken-for-granted practices and texts of ELT would translate into a development context, and how students in a development context would respond to those practices. A theoretical framework, drawn from critical ethnography and critical classroom discourse analysis, was adopted in order to examine how the micro culture of the classroom, realised in materials, practices, and interactions, was embedded in the larger macro systems of cultural and political power (Canagarajah 1993). A range of data was collected and analysed to present a qualitative picture of the various aspects of the project and its place in a social, economic and political context.

The second phase aimed to broaden the base of the research project and provide a better balance between emic and etic perspectives by collecting data from other Australian teachers who had taught in the same or similar development programmes in South East Asia. Data selected from ten teachers formed the basis of this phase: six (including Carol) had taught on the same development programme as myself; one had taught in a follow-up programme at the same institution; three had taught in a teacher-training programme in Timor-Leste. Data were gathered in the form of interviews, email correspondence, and letters sent by the teachers to friends and family. The interviews were semi-structured, and open questions invited teachers to reflect, *inter alia*, on their use of imported and locally designed materials for ELT within the development context. Analysis of Carol's account in the following case study exemplifies the process whereby the students' own political interests and experience – deeply embedded in a specific place – are brought together with the

interests and experience of the teacher to design materials and guide activities that make English language teaching an enriching and engaging endeavour.

The research project and the case study presented here were located at a time of intense political, economic and social turmoil in Timor-Leste following the population's historic vote in favour of territorial separation from Indonesia. After the vote for independence a wave of violence swept across the territory resulting in the destruction of physical infrastructure and the cessation of all civil, government, legal and administrative functions. The university and schools were destroyed along with books and teaching materials. The ensuing emergency situation opened the way for an international military intervention to quell the violence, stabilise the country and allow the installation of a temporary UN administration. In the succeeding months and years, an influx of humanitarian aid programmes saw the arrival of a large number of foreign aid workers, particularly in the capital, Dili.

At the time of this case study, the territory was under United Nations administration. In its peacekeeping and development operations the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was intended to include, amongst its goals, the promotion of gender equality. The notion that East Timor was a patriarchal society, and that women had suffered disproportionately under waves of colonial occupation, was widespread, with some activists, practitioners, and scholars claiming that customary tribal practices and conservative Catholicism, initially imported in an earlier era of Portuguese colonialism, had contributed to women's oppression. However, despite the UNTAET rhetoric of gender equality, the influx of male-dominated military forces and development organisations provoked gender problems between foreign and local communities, prompting accusations that the UN had failed to protect civilian women from sexual violence and exploitation perpetrated by international military, police, and civilian personnel (Joshi 2007). As with any international intervention of this sort, intercultural sexual politics became a contentious issue and, within this particular educational aid programme, was expressed as a matter of concern in the classroom.

The development aid programme in which Carol and I worked was designed to teach English language and computer skills to a large cohort of university students whose education had been disrupted by the closure of the university in the emergency period. The students were politically active in the liberation struggles and determined to have a say in the structuring of the new nation. They had a rich linguistic repertoire, speaking at least one of the many regional languages as well as Tetum, an indigenous lingua franca. During the decades of Indonesian occupation, the medium of instruction in educational institutions had been Bahasa Indonesia, but following the vote for independence, there was widespread demand amongst a younger generation for English language teaching despite official plans to introduce Portuguese as the official language for the new nation. The UN responded to the students' demands by requesting an Australian organisation to provide an ELT programme for university students, but perhaps unsurprisingly, there were no appropriate published language teaching materials available for this specific situation.

In the absence of any locally produced materials, the aid programme was supplied with a textbook that had been designed for migrants learning English in

Australia, and this was supplemented by materials brought by individual teachers. Although the teachers were well aware that any materials they brought from Australia would need to be adapted to the Timorese context, the focus and form of this contextualisation varied greatly. Some processes of adaptation involved a simplification of lexis and grammar, or placing the textbook's language functions and events within the local environment. But many teachers found their own limited experience of Timor-Leste, and the disparity between the textbook content and the lived experience of their students, made working with any imported textbooks impossible. One teacher explained the problem in this way:

> [the textbook is based on] a Queensland program … it's very Australian, so you know, you catch a train, so you'd look at train timetables, but there are no trains in [Timor-Leste]. Well I could adjust that to bus timetable, but like the microlets [Timorese minibuses] do not have a timetable! So it's all that, culturally so strange and there were a lot of things I left out because at the time I couldn't think of how to change it. And it was so new.

As the Australian teachers soon discovered, the typical situations and scripts depicted in the textbook and forming the basis of lesson plans, like reading timetables, catching trains, and even eating breakfast, did not apply to Timor-Leste. The scripts and representations in textbooks, being divorced from the world outside the classroom, instead produced what one teacher described as an 'English bubble,' a disciplinary schema floating detached from the social and historical context of this particular location. For most of the Australian teachers in my study, the disconnection between those imported materials, scripts and plans for teaching, and the particular characteristics of places and people in Timor-Leste, led to intense feelings of confusion, disorientation, and doubt. Only a few of the teachers clung tenaciously to their imported teaching materials, remaining in the English bubble that hovered above the landscape.

From my own perspective, the lifestyle presented in our Australian textbooks, while unremarkable in an Australian classroom, when viewed in my East Timorese classroom suddenly appeared middle class, materialistic, immodest, and littered with irrelevant Australian slang. As the teacherly embodiment of this Western lifestyle in the classroom, I felt acutely aware that this textbook world also constructed an identity for me: supermarket shopping, car ownership, eating in restaurants, train travel and holiday air travel comprise normal routines; washing machines, freezers, mobile phones, and computers are everyday commodities. Making appointments by phone, filling bank forms, reading street signs, or EFTPOS instructions are everyday practices and form the basis of modelled texts. In contrast, in Timor-Leste at that time, there were no phones, no appointments for doctors, no trains and no bus signs, especially in English, and no libraries to join, EFTPOS machines or banks to use. As we browsed the pages of the textbook, references to Australians' weekend activities, such as 'clipping the edges' on the lawn in front of the house, seemed almost impossible to explain in a country where many families were homeless, still living amongst rubble or in makeshift shelters, and gardens were associated with food production rather than ornamental lawns.

Dealing with issues of gender and sexuality through the lens of textbook content proved equally difficult. Teachers' accounts from this programme demonstrated that even when gender was not an explicit focus of English language teaching materials, it emerged in classroom events and discussions and was influenced by the beliefs, experiences, and observations that students and teachers brought into the classroom. Gender emerged from the stories of liberation struggles, reconciliation and generational politics, from accounts of domestic routines and domestic conflicts, and from concerns over the different sexual practices of the various communities present in the contact zone of development. Female teachers varied in the ways in which they responded to gender issues. While some took an explicit stand in relation to questions of gender politics or cultural sensitivity, for most of the teachers in this development context it was not simply a matter of acting with authority to help their students towards 'enlightenment' or competence in analysing and tackling gender issues. Rather, their pedagogical practice was a matter of working in a space where divergent cultures met, and negotiating strong but contradictory demands for teachers to join in a struggle for gender equality and universal human rights while simultaneously respecting an unfamiliar local cultural politics.

5 Carol's Class

The university students in Carol's class had a higher level of English language proficiency than most of the students in the programme, and so Carol was more easily able to adapt, negotiate, and design materials that connected classroom English language practices with the students' interests and concerns that derived from their lives outside the classroom walls. Her account demonstrates the way that sensitively designed English language teaching materials facilitated "a set of activities dynamically integrated across physical, social, mental and moral worlds" (Pennycook 2010, p. 130).

Like other foreign teachers in the aid project, Carol had initially planned a specific programme of work based on textbook lessons and the few locally available newspaper resources. But as classes progressed, these lessons moved towards a more delicate and nuanced integration of student and teacher expertise and desires that required the development of very different materials. In Carol's words:

> It took me a little while, I was trying to be an English teacher, and wanting them to follow **my** course [based on the textbook], and suddenly I realised, they didn't only want English, they needed to communicate with each other about what was happening [outside the classroom]. English became the medium for it, and of course the discussions went on in breaks and lunchtime, when they were out of the classroom, it would continue in Tetum then. But in class they endeavoured to express what they felt in English.

The movement from teacher-controlled materials to a negotiation of student control was demonstrated in a particular sequence commencing with a game using teacher-designed materials comprising a set of questions for students to ask and answer in groups. Although initially compliant, Carol found these structured

materials gave way to a process whereby students insisted on selecting "*the issues they talked about*," thus signalling the flow of political and personal ideas from outside the classroom. Working together to produce an alternative resource, Carol and the students "*made a list of topics and that stayed on the wall all the time and they used that list of topics and they added to it, if they wanted to, to write in their diaries*." The organisation of teaching and learning within the classroom then became a negotiation between structured teacher-centred materials and a flow of contextual interests, ideas and student-designed materials: "*Because I thought rather than just take the topic and start talking about it in class, I wanted them to get their ideas together first*." At home, the students wrote in their journals "*to make them think about what they were going to say*," then these "*collected*" thoughts would be used as a basis for classroom talk and presentations.

Carol felt her students still expected her to play a part in structuring the classroom activities, but they wanted those critical issues to be "*part of it, and when they realised I was allowing it to be a part of their day, they were happy with that, then they were happy to do all the other things when they realised it was connected*." It was crucial that the language learning and classroom materials be constructed to reflect or address the political meanings of the local place, so that "both locality and language emerge[d] from the activities engaged in" (Pennycook 2010, p. 128). What developed was an integration of connected positions that included teachers' disciplinary knowledge and students' knowledge of history and place: "*if they were going to give a narrative of something that had happened, we did narrative, past tense, you know, we did the grammar associated with it*." This combination of emotional memories and a 'dry' grammatical structure might seem odd, but Carol suggested that the conventions of English classes allowed for 'an escape' and for moving on to a differently imagined future. She felt her students wanted neither "*for us to just be sympathising with them*' nor to "*dwell on*" all that had happened. Rather, English classes perhaps represented a way "*to get back, get back on track, get back to routine*," a way to "*get back to a structure and get things moving again*." Hence the need to incorporate within the teaching materials a combination of input from the textbook, the teacher, and the students' more immediate interests, experiences, and knowledge.

This engagement with student's concerns was not without its difficulties. Outside the classroom, students' families and communities were deeply involved in communal practices of healing and remembrance, and inside the classroom topics that arose spontaneously in the course of everyday lessons recalled into the present personal memories of trauma:

> In class there'd be something [from the textbook] about: 'There was more rain in Hong Kong than London', or something like that, and then when they made up their own sentences: 'More people were killed in Los Palos than Baucau'. And then we'd be talking about languages of East Timor, and then one student'd say: 'Oh, my brother spoke English very well', 'Oh what's he doing now?' 'Oh, he was killed at the Santa Cruz massacre'. You know that sort of thing, it was just a shock all the time. Then one of my students had to go and dig

> up bodies, and then he came back, and they had to ask to go over to CIVPOL[1] [to identify the bones], and he said 'Very sad, bones belong my family'.

Sensitivity to students' stories of personal suffering had led some teachers to draw firmer barriers to keep the outside out and to maintain a distance between themselves and their students. Maintaining this distance may have been simpler if materials had been based solely on an imported textbook, but in this case the immediacy of students' grief and trauma could not be ignored. Nevertheless in the absence of guidance from familiar teaching materials, the teachers were often confused as to how they could engage with this situation. Indeed, although these teachers had expressed solidarity with Timorese political activism, fear of the passions that could be invoked led them to avoid contact with personal accounts of trauma and grief. Yet for Carol, these classroom exchanges appeared to build more connections, becoming a part of the classroom practice, rather than something that was separate from 'the English lesson': "*there was a lot of laughter and light moments and joking, but at the same time we couldn't ignore what was happening*."

Amongst the topics the students chose to incorporate into the English language lessons as "*very important to talk about*" included "*the women of East Timor, because of what had happened to the women, you know, coming to terms with what had happened to the women*" during the struggle for independence. In these student-led presentations and in students' written materials, private experiences were brought into the public domain in a way that the teacher perceived as indications of the women's strength and solidarity:

> I had a fair few really strong women in the afternoon group and they used to often clap, spontaneously, when it came to an issue talking about women playing a strong role, there were very strong feelings about things.

Acknowledging that these issues were brought into the public space of the classroom by students' agency and ownership, the teacher appeared to initially take the role of a bystander rather than the author and centre of classroom action:

> Ros: And how did you feel when some of those really strong topics came up?
> Carol: I tried not to give an opinion actually, […] I didn't want them to think the Western way, 'cause I was still trying to understand what- how the men and women's roles were in East Timor, I didn't feel I could impose our ideas until I knew what was happening there really.

Although Carol recognised that there were serious issues relating to reconciliation and the perception and treatment of women currently being discussed within the local community at that time, she was reluctant to develop materials that would focus directly on these sensitive topics. In these circumstances, the teacher's awareness of her status as a cultural and territorial outsider acted as a restraint to pedagogical authority, and prompted her to take up a listening position that suggested a contingent reversal of the most significant neo-colonial hierarchies she perceived as inherent in the development context. Rather than directly expressing her opinion on the issues of gender and reconciliation, she chose instead to discuss her own

[1] A multinational Civilian Police force sponsored by the United Nations

memories and embodied experiences as a Western woman, and the way she felt she was perceived when working as a teacher on a previous aid project in Indonesia. In this account, the teacher's own body becomes the subject material for an investigation of gender and cultural differences:

> [The Indonesians] looked on Western women as prostitutes really, and so I talked about that, and I talked about some of my experiences in Bali, how it was supposed that I was a prostitute by some of the Muslim teachers, and I told them about, I told them of a couple of experiences I had. […] So really, I told them of my experiences, to add fuel for their own debates, to get them going, to motivate discussion, to get them all going on it really.

Similarly, in the East Timorese context, Carol felt that 'open displays' of sexual behaviour by some Western women aid workers had led Timorese men to draw negative conclusions about all Western women: "*they thought all Western women were going to do it*." She believed that these readings influenced her students' perceptions of Westerners' sexual relations and that these concerns were focused in a particular place: the UN floating hotel *Olympia*, which was moored in Dili harbour to accommodate an overflow of foreign workers, most of whom were men. That physical location then became another space for the students' and teacher's engagement in, and ethnographic exploration of, these difficult issues:

> Amongst the students, yes they did talk about that, they talked about not wanting their women to be like Western women, and that the boat, *Olympia*, was being used for prostitution. So that's when I thought, 'well we'd better go down and see for ourselves'.

For Carol, an important aspect of the students' learning of English was to equip them with "*confidence to participate in the UNTAET governing and reconstruction of their country*." She wanted her students to use English to "*know what was happening and to seek correct information*." With this purpose in mind, Carol designed materials to support an ethnographic approach to language learning (Roberts et al. 2001) and to engage in language use as a political practice. Materials designed to focus on asking and answering questions became an integral part of preparing students for excursions into institutions in which English functioned as a lingua franca, such as the UN offices. Together, Carol and her students had ventured into several UN and NGO locations at the heart of the development bureaucracy to enquire about plans for reconstruction and about potential employment opportunities for the Timorese community. These institutions were places that might not, otherwise, have been easily accessible to Timorese students, because in this time of political turmoil many were heavily guarded against unofficial entrants. The materials that Carol designed collaboratively with her students in preparation for these visits were intended to "*give them the confidence to enter institutions and make them realise that the country was now theirs*."

Carol explained the process of producing the materials for the students' ethnographic inquiry at the *Olympia*:

> We [teacher and students] prepared all the questions, I said what do you think you'll want to know? Is being used for prostitution? What is it being used for? Who lives on it? How many? Who runs it? Why is it there? So we made a whole of lot questions on the board and we formulated the questions and they had to practice asking each other, from that I put up

> what they wanted to know, how many people, OK, I said, how do you make that question, OK 'how many people live on the boat?', you want to know where do they eat, 'where do the people eat?' so they practiced all that, and then we wrote a letter to the *Olympia* [manager] and asked if we could go on board. So they each had their question sheets and they went all around the boat, on the different sections to find out what they did for entertainment, you know they had them under headings, and all the questions, and they just went around asking all the questions and they had to find the answers, and we sat on the deck and looked at what we'd collected.

With the jointly produced materials and questions practiced in the classroom, Carol and her students were prepared for their visit to the *Olympia*, where "*they were seeing for themselves, because they were hearing rumours, and they hadn't been- they didn't know they were allowed to go these places, cause under Indonesian rule, and under Portuguese rule, I guess they were not easily able to go into public places, they were intimidated by these places*." In this way, collaboratively designed materials were prepared and used as a means of leveraging engagement with context, and specifically with certain spaces that held gendered meanings. In these places, gender inequalities were not seen as a problem solely located within the Timorese community (who cooks the food in *your* family? who does the cleaning in *your* house?), but as a problem that arose *between* diverse cultures and communities brought together in the contact zone of international development. In the case of the *Olympia*, any gender problems that existed were produced and sustained not by presumed patriarchal relations in the Timorese community, but by the presence of a wealthy, masculinised, and militarised international community.

In terms of effecting substantive institutional change, the outcome of the class's ethnographic inquiry was inconclusive: we have no firm knowledge that practices of prostitution on the *Olympia*, if they existed at all, were abolished. In the years since Timorese independence, reports of sexual exploitation by military organisations that accompany development aid continue to surface on a global scale. In this sense, the deep-seated hierarchies of gender and race continue to shape the experiences of host and donor interactions. Nevertheless, at a local level the collaboratively designed materials developed in these lessons turned a spotlight on the operation of those hierarchies within the students' own communities, and promoted language learning while fostering students' confidence in accessing and interrogating institutions otherwise closed to them. These materials – and practices that they promote – point to an alternative, more exploratory way of addressing certain experiences and effects of gender, sexuality, and race in the context of development, one that begins to work collaboratively with the various interests, values, and agency of both students and teacher.

6 Conclusion

Research studies over several decades have determined that commercially produced international textbooks, sold to a mass market, have long failed to link language learning to specific local social, economic, cultural and political environments in any significant way. In such cases, teachers need to explore alternative ways in which such links can be made, either through a critical engagement with the supplied textbook content, or by collaboratively designing materials that extend meaningful language lessons from the classroom out into the world beyond the classroom walls. This chapter has discussed one such case in which English language teaching materials have been designed and used in a troubled development context to address delicate issues to do with gender and sexuality. In Carol's classes, language learning materials drew on the interests and concerns of her students, combining the teacher's and students' experience and expertise to support inquiry and action, and to address a specific site where sexual morals, values, and practices were brought into question.

As is the case in development programmes, teachers in many resource-poor teaching contexts may be supplied with imported textbook materials on which to base their teaching. In situations where resources are scarce, the possession of an English textbook may be an important priority. But such resources rarely deal explicitly with issues of power and conflict, social and economic difference, or gender and sexuality, though it is precisely these issues that may be of direct concern to students and their communities in the developing world. To amend this oversight, some of the questions that might be considered in relation to the design and use of curriculum and teaching materials for use in such contexts are:

- To what extent do the curriculum and teaching materials address issues of social, cultural, economic, and political importance to participants in this context?
- How are the various participants in (and beyond) the classroom positioned by, and represented in, the teaching texts? Who are represented as the 'experts' in the teaching and learning process?
- Whose interests are served by the positioning and representations evident in the teaching materials?
- To what extent are social and economic hierarchies between teachers and students, programme managers and local participants, reproduced or disrupted through implementation of the teaching materials?
- If the teaching materials are lacking engagement with the local social, political, and economic concerns, to what extent are students and teachers encouraged to adopt an ethnographic approach in developing their teaching practices?
- How are sensitive issues to do with gender and sexuality addressed in teaching materials, if at all? Whose interests are served by the inclusion/exclusion and representation of these issues?

Where language classrooms bring together teachers and students with vastly different cultural and moral outlooks, the representation of these issues in texts and materials needs to be recognised and negotiated with care. In such circumstances,

teachers need to be mindful of their own cultural values and biases, and sensitive to the diverse values brought into the classroom by students. Questions of sexual morality, however difficult they may be, can be addressed in the design of ELT materials in ways that are productive and respectful of the various interests represented in the classroom.

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Critiquing Culture in Reading Materials Used by ESL Private Middle Schools in the Philippines: A Critical Literacy Perspective

Marianne Rachel Perfecto and Michelle G. Paterno

Abstract This chapter shows to which extent two textbooks published by one of the leading publishers in the Philippines realize their goal of promoting a more critical approach to reading. Guided by the principles of critical literacy, content analysis reveals that despite the wide range of universally acknowledged values covered in the textbook, not all of them are necessarily relevant to the target audience. Also, it was found that the processing questions and activities remain limited to low order comprehension questions and language exercises, with few opportunities for users of the textbook to engage more fully with the values of the text or challenge ways of thinking embedded in the material despite the seemingly critical perspective preface that frames the series.

Keywords Comprehension • Critical literacy • Critical reading • Critical stance • Ideology • Textbooks

1 Introduction

Critical literacy practices posit the socio-political dimensions of language learning; that is, the act of reading and writing is subject to social and cultural forces and are never neutral acts. Learners do not really freely produce texts, nor do they read value-free texts. Thus, critical literacy practices are concerned with questions about the ideology underlying a particular text, how it positions its readers, and how it works to privilege some groups while silencing the voices of the often marginalized. In the classroom, teaching literacy aims to promote social critique and transformation by allowing students to recognize the non-neutrality of texts so that the classroom becomes a venue for educating a "citizenry in the dynamics of critical literacy

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and civic courage… [which] constitutes the basis for functioning as active citizens in a democratic society" (Freire 1988, p. xxxii).

Textbooks are an integral part of this process of education as they provide what many consider to be the primary material of the classroom. Reading a text, however, implies more than just comprehension as it is also a way of implicating larger concepts of identity, cultural awareness, and social justice (Case et al. 2005). As such, there exists a need to expand the notion of literacy to include ways of developing students' textual power – that is, not just the ability to decode and make appropriate inferences from reading material, but more importantly, to question and interrogate the latent values and assumptions that may exist within a text and effectively become a 'text critic' (Luke and Freebody 1999). Too often, many students maintain an attitude of passivity and resignation before a text, allowing themselves to be swayed by the interests and viewpoints of writers whose ideas they do not feel compelled to probe or contradict (McLaughlin and deVoogd 2004).

Such critical literacy is important because like all other instructional materials, textbooks are ideologically constructed. Every piece of text, discourse, and activity is carefully chosen and systematically arranged to adhere to a particular framework. This makes the process of reading, both the teaching and the learning of it, embedded in ideological practice (Huang 2011a; Wallace 1999). A clear example of this is when the Americans used education as a colonial tool to overhaul the educational system of the Philippines during the early twentieth century. Reading selections were replete with texts taken from the American cultural experience, including such 'canonical' texts as Lincoln's The Gettysburg Address, Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (Martin 2002). Such texts, matched by an equally colonial practice of using a foreign language (English) to teach them, resulted in students feeling alienated, handicapped, and disenfranchised from the very education that sought to liberate them as recorded in the 1925 Monroe Report (Bautista et al. 2008/2009).

Today, it has been many decades after the Monroe Report and yet, the subject of the ideological nature of discourses found in ELT textbooks (including in the Philippines) continues to be relevant. Specifically, there is a need to subject such materials to critical inquiry because the kind of culture they contain may not really necessarily embody those of the students. Although this Anglo-centric nature of ELT materials was addressed by the publication of ELT materials in the 2000s that draw from different cultures around the world, there remains a bias for inner circle content and knowledge-based orientation that do not necessarily engage readers in more reflective practices (Shin et al. 2011). It is in light of these realities that Huang (2011a) argues for a necessary focus on critical literacy, because while "ELT textbooks appear progressively inclusive, it can be easily overlooked that, in fact, the social, historical, cultural and political dimensions of people and their cultures are seldom represented in all of their complexities" (p. 144).

By focusing on critical literacy, it is possible to gauge how deeply and widely textbooks engage students' cultural backgrounds to go beyond content-based approaches to language and develop multiple perspectives that force them to think more reflectively about themselves, other people, and society.

This chapter presents an analysis that examines two textbooks from a Reading textbook series published by one of the leading publishers in the country through the lens of critical literacy theory. In particular, the study seeks to answer the following questions:

(a) What cultural values are presented in the selections of the textbooks?
(b) How are these cultural values explored in the questions and activities?
(c) In what ways do these texts, questions, and activities enable readers to engage critically with the content and contexts of the material?

2 Reading the Wor(l)d: Understanding a Critical Stance in Reading Textbooks

It is possible to distill the key principles of critical literacy according to the following key ideas: (1) "focusing on issues of power [to promote] reflection, transformation, and action"; (2) "focusing on the problem and its complexity;" (3) "[using] techniques that …are dynamic and adapt to the contexts in which they are used;" and (4) "examining [issues from] multiple perspectives" (Mc Laughlin and De Voogd 2004, pp. 54–55).

Since the 1990s, critical literacy has been deemed important by many teachers and researchers, with a number of articles documenting its implementation in various classes. In his review of articles on the application of critical literacy practices in the classroom, Behrman (2006) identified the following as key activities for students: "(1) reading supplementary texts, (2) reading multiple texts, (3) reading from a resistant perspective, (4) producing counter-texts, (5) conducting student-choice research projects, and (6) taking social action" (p. 492). However, most of these studies focused on the implementation of critical literacy in countries that use English as a native language (Huang 2011b).

In contrast, studies in EFL/ESL contexts focused on students' perception of critical literacy practices implemented in their English classroom (Huang 2009, 2011b; Kuo 2007; Locke and Cleary 2011). These studies showed that students' response was positive since, more than learning the basic language skills, they were also able to evaluate themselves as teenagers and to think about issues from multiple perspectives (Kuo 2007). Furthermore, they liked reading different types of texts that dealt with related themes, especially when they were asked to react to and question these texts (Locke and Cleary 2011). Students also reflected that critical literacy helped them comprehend texts better and made their writing more meaningful (Huang 2011b).

Other studies investigated students' critical literacy practices in the English classroom (Huang 2011a, b; Locke and Cleary 2011; Leland et al. 2012). Results showed that students were able to critically read texts and were able to recognize the silenced voices and perspectives in them. Although they were able to connect their lives to these texts, they "did not immediately make the connection between reading

practices and the critical literacy perspective, and insisted on an understanding of reading as mainly emotional and factual" (Huang 2011a, p.140). These studies reiterate the benefits of taking a critical perspective in the classroom whether with elementary or university-level students.

The need for critical literacy in education becomes even more compelling especially at this time when construction and consumption of meaning has become easier and faster so that we can no longer discern the ideological assumptions that underlie these discourses (Janks 2012). This ideological nature of discourses has been studied to a great extent especially in ELT textbooks and materials, and these studies reveal that the materials do not really embody the culture used by the students using the textbooks (Huang 2011a; Xiong 2012).

In spite of this, there remains a continuing need to constantly evaluate the content of textbooks, as they continue to be the dominant means of teaching and learning in classrooms. In the Philippines, for instance, textbooks are used primarily as a basis for lesson preparations, classroom tasks, and 'value-formation' as dictated by the Department of Education for primary and secondary schools. As such, it is not surprising for textbook publishers and teachers to be concerned with selecting and using texts that promote positive values that may be integrated with classroom lessons.

However, recent studies that evaluated the ideological underpinnings of ESL textbooks asserted the failure of the material to provide students with opportunities to undertake a more critical analysis of language or to question the kind of discourses promoted within it (Case et al. 2005; Olajide 2010).

In this study, the aim is twofold. On the one hand, it seeks to identify what cultural values are presented in two middle school textbooks from the same series and how these values are fostered in the activities and questions that follow. On the other hand, the study also hopes to evaluate the extent to which the critical reading practices are cultivated by the materials presented.

3 The Study

3.1 Materials and Method

This study focused on two textbooks from the 'Our World of Reading' series published by one of the leading textbook publishers in the Philippines: one for Grade 5 entitled *Dream Chasers* (Paterno and Hermosa 2006a), and the other for Grade 7 entitled *Star Walk* (Paterno and Hermosa 2006b). Both textbooks are multicultural anthologies of literary and nonliterary texts from various genres and are used by some of the exclusive Catholic private institutions in Metro Manila, Philippines whose population usually consists of children from middle to upper socioeconomic backgrounds. The book series not only aims to "invite children to explore a new world of experience, character and ideas" through its use of "award-winning stories from the Philippines and other countries" (Paterno and Hermosa 2006a, b), but also

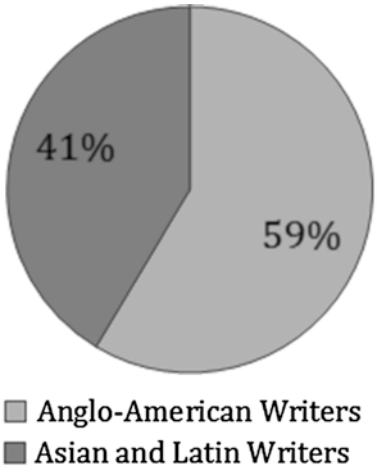

Fig. 1 Authorship of texts (Grade 5 and 7 textbooks)

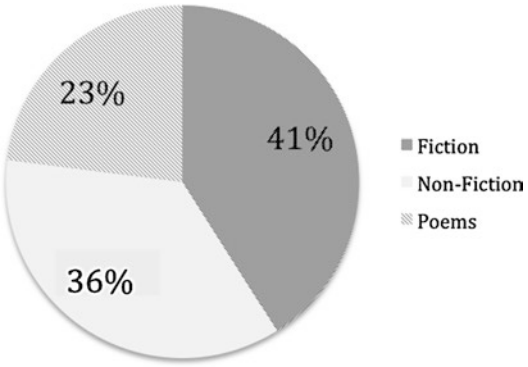

Fig. 2 Grade 5 textbook by genre

aims to teach its users to develop a critical stance by inviting "that child to question, to reflect, and to gain understanding" of an "ever expanding body of knowledge and ability" (Paterno and Hermosa 2006a, b).

The Grade 5 textbook contains forty-seven texts while the Grade 7 one has fifty-two texts for a combined total of ninety-nine fiction, non-fiction, and poetry selections from local and international writers. Fifty-eight texts (or 60% of the total content) are written by Anglo-American writers while forty one (40%) comes from Latin and Asian contexts (See Fig. 1). The use of fiction (short stories and excerpts from novels) dominates both textbooks followed by non-fiction (essays, biographies, informational articles) and finally poetry (see also Figs. 1, 2, and 3).

In addition, a number of literary and non-literary texts from both textbooks are excerpted from longer works. The Grade 5 textbook makes use of more full length short stories while the Grade 7 book uses more texts excerpted from full length young adult (YA) literature. Similarly, in terms of non-literary texts, the Grade 5 book contains slightly more full length essays, informational and opinion articles, biographies, and personal narratives than the Grade 7 one.

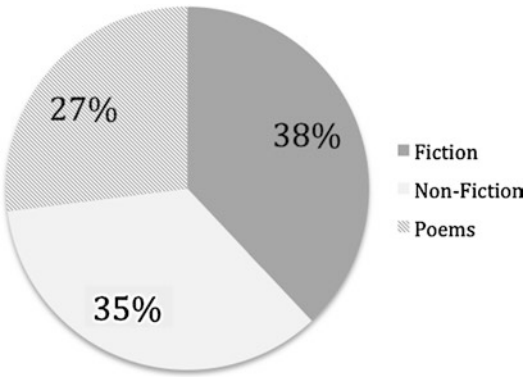

Fig. 3 Grade 7 textbook by genre

Texts in both textbooks are arranged according to broad topics. For Grade 5, these topics include the following: *A Job Worth Doing* (about different types of work), *The Land of the Morning* (stories on Filipino heroes, events and culture), *Imagine a Place* (texts that describe different places, both real and imagined), and *No Place Like Home* (stories of home). In the Grade 7 book, texts clustered around topics such as *Turning Points (stories on self-discovery)*, *Making Connections* (texts about understanding animals), *On Dreamer's Wings* (stories focused on setting goals and achieving dreams) and *Whispers from the Past* (stories connecting with the past).

For this study, only literary texts and certain nonliterary texts such as autobiographies, biographies, and published diaries with identifiable themes were included. Non-literary texts that were purely informational in nature were excluded from the thematic analysis since these do not convey any clear values. In the end, a total of fifty-three texts were analyzed (from the original 99), nineteen from *Dream Chasers* and thirty-four from *Star Walk*.

3.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The study uses a qualitative research design, a type of inquiry that is 'richly descriptive' and is apt for topics that have not been explored extensively (Merriam 2009). Data collection and analysis were guided by the principles of content analysis and critical literacy theory as outlined in Table 1. In addition, the grounded approach, an inductive process where researchers begin with data and derive themes and categories from these data, rather than beginning with a theory and looking for data that will prove or disprove the theory (Nunan and Bailey 2009) was adopted for data analysis.

The first stage of the textbook analysis involved going through each text and its accompanying questions and activities and looking at its subject matter, purpose, and audience using questions adapted from and developed by Rice (1998) and Reade (1998) (both in Huang 2011a) as well as McLaughlin and DeVoogd (2004) (See Table 1).

Table 1 Summary of methods

Aspects of critical literacy	Methods	
	Where data are collected	How data are analyzed
Subject matter		
1. What is the topic?	Textual samples (stories, poems, paragraphs/essays for reading, discussion notes)	Determine whether the topics enable students to confront relevant cultural and social realities
Purpose		
1. What is the writer's purpose?	Pre-reading, discussion, post-reading questions, activities, and exercises	Examine the extent to which the questions, activities and exercises allow students to problematize and question the world as constructed by the textbook
2. What kind of political, economic, or social interests are served by the way the text is written? What kind of values and attitudes are privileged in this text?		Examine if or to what extent the textbook provides multiple perspectives on an issue or topic
3. Whose voices are missing, silenced or discounted?		
Audience		
1. To whom is this written?	Pre-reading, discussion, post-reading questions, activities, and exercises	Examine the extent to which the questions, activities and exercises engage students in projects that can make a difference in their own and other people's lives
2. What assumption about the reader is implied in the textbook?		
3. How does the text position the readers?		

To determine the cultural values presented in the selections in the textbooks, the topics of the texts analyzed were categorized according to the values most prominent in the text. To determine how the cultural values were explored in the questions and activities as well as how readers are positioned by these texts and activities, the analysis looked at how these texts and activities allow students to problematize and question the world as constructed by the textbook (e.g., focus on issues of power and help them recognize the silencing of certain groups and perhaps challenge existing structures of inequality and oppression), or to what extent the textbook provided multiple perspectives on an issue or topic. The activities and texts were also analyzed according to how these engage students in projects that can make a difference in their own and other people's lives. The researchers analyzed the textbooks independently before comparing results and discussing emergent themes.

4 Presentation of Data

4.1 Cultural Values Depicted in the Selections

The content analysis revealed that many of the stories extol what are commonly assumed to be traditional and universal values of courage, optimism, honor, determination, love for family, care for the elderly, and love for country. Without seeming didactic, these stories nevertheless help in the socialization of its readers to embrace a code of ethics and modes of behavior deemed acceptable in society. By doing so, these stories help to maintain ways of thinking that are deemed valuable by key institutions in society in order to preserve social relationships and civilized behavior.

Many of these values are situated within the context and experiences of adolescents caught in situations that test their values in the hopes of overcoming preconceived notions and biases and emerge as changed individuals. For example, the reading texts in the Grade 5 textbook deal with courage – courage in fighting one's adversities in life, and courage in fighting for what is right for the community and the country. "The Emperor and the Kite" tells the story of Princess DjeowSeow, the fourth daughter of the Emperor of Ancient China. Because Princess DjeowSeow was so tiny, she had been considered insignificant, until she finally proved her worth in the end when she saved her father from the invaders of the kingdom. Such is the courage also shown by the Tingguians and the Kalinga people, as told in the stories "Gift of the Mountains" and "On the Face of the Mountain," when they fought against those threatening to destroy their land in the name of development. Courage is also central to "We Swear", an excerpt from a historical novel about the 1896 Philippine revolution about an adolescent boy who realizes the meaning of the revolution he is forced to join, and finally gathers the courage to suffer for his mother land. In the Grade 7 textbook, the values of loyalty and friendship are emphasized. For instance, the protagonist in "Dream So Wild" is conflicted between honoring what his father wants him to do and what he wants for himself. Other stories, such as "Marooned," "Wounded Wolf," and "The Dog of Pompeii" feature protagonists who display loyalty to their animal or human companion. In "River Rescue" a young girl rescues a cat from the river when he is separated from his animal companions. The girl nurses the cat back to health but when he recovers, he grows restless for his previous companions. With a heavy heart, the young girl realizes that despite the comfort that she had tried to provide for him, the cat has stronger ties elsewhere and needs to return to be among his friends.

Aside from loyalty and friendship, other values evident in the texts include the importance of family, home and asserting one's individuality. For instance, the importance of family and home is shown in a number of texts. "A Family Home" is the story of a girl who does everything she can so her parents would not have to sell their family home – the home her great grandfather built and the home she and her aunts love. "New Home" is about a family moving to their new home. Although feeling apprehensive at first, they were portrayed as excited as they work together to make their new house a home they would come to love. In "Can She Sing", a family

feels incomplete since the mother died, but finds happiness again when the father gets a new wife. Finally, "The Adventures of Culas-Culasito" tells the story of a boy who has the chance to free a local hero, Bernardo Carpio, but gives this up because it means losing his parents. All these texts underscored the need to be an intact and complete family in order to be happy.

However, while some of these values are deemed positive and universal, upon closer examination, they actually provide a worldview that may be in conflict with traditional values in the Philippines. For instance, most Anglo-American coming of age stories, such as those included in the textbook, view independence and rebellion against one's parents as natural phases of adolescent behavior. In the excerpt 'Dream of the Wild' (Grade 7 textbook), the story seems to valorize the rebellious nature of the protagonist who defies his father's direct orders not to dive for black pearls. The story seems to justify the notion of youthful rebellion because it allows the boy to prove that he is, in fact, mature enough to handle dangerous situations. Such a value, while empowering on the one hand, is in direct conflict with local Filipino values that emphasize the need to respect and abide by one's elders. In the same way, a local Filipino folklore entitled "The Adventures of Pilandok" (Grade 5 textbook) seems to showcase the importance of valuing one's family but actually masks the shrewd manipulations of the character to trick the rich and powerful families to get food and wealth for his own.

There are other values in the textbooks that may be considered important in the development of children (e.g., heroism, resilience, love). However, these values are embedded within texts that are not geared toward adolescents. For example, "A People's Revolution" (Grade 5 textbook) features the thoughts and feelings of some of the people (five adults and two students) who joined the People Power Revolution in 1986. Although these excerpts are meant to inform readers about this important moment in Philippine history, the experiences narrated are those of adults, and thus talk about their fears and concerns, which may be difficult for Grade 5 students to comprehend. In the Grade 7 textbook, the pattern seems evident as at least ten texts (19%) are stories that are more adult oriented or demand some cultural knowledge that may not necessarily be within the experience of the intended users of the textbook. For instance, while Jack London's "To Build a Fire" may be a classic tale of human resilience in the face of natural adversities, its descriptions of the harshness and bitterness of winter may not resonate well with young children from a tropical country for whom snow is commonly perceived as exotic and enjoyable.

In other stories, the values of love and loyalty are emphasized but tend to be filtered through adult experiences. "Living with the Enemy," "The War," and "Grief," for instance, are all set during the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines. Unlike "Don't Listen," which is also set during the Japanese Occupation period, these stories do not have a young protagonist as its central consciousness but instead speak of the wartime experiences from the point of view of adult women – a young wife, a mother, and a sister. "Grief," in particular, tells the story a woman whose husband disappears mysteriously during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. While the story retells the consequences of war on a young married couple, the anxieties of a young wife and devastation she feels may be difficult for middle school children to empathize with.

Perhaps because these texts were excerpted from trade books originally intended for a general adult audience and were included without adaptation or revision in the present material, the rhetorical, syntactic, and semantic structures found in these texts are much more sophisticated and refined compared to others in the textbooks and certainly stand out as being misplaced in a book that is intended for middle school users. The decision to make such inclusions implies a misplaced assumption that the values in the stories written primarily for a more general adult audience can be easily transferrable and appropriated for a younger one.

Certainly, exposure to texts that are outside the experiences of the intended young readers is not necessarily an impediment to learning, and indeed, may even provide a level of challenge for students provided that the teachers can scaffold the material "[so that] students may be in a better position to consider the topic from a distance that enables the critical lens." (Huang 2009, pp. 82–83). However, as the later analysis will show, this was not necessarily the case as some texts with critical potential did not contain processing questions and activities, and those that did, provided limited guidance for students to engage in critical reading.

By far, the most critical value underlying some of the selections contained in the textbooks has to do with challenging the image of America as a benevolent land of opportunity. In the Philippines, there remains a general perception of America and the west as the 'ideal world' that accords one a status of privilege and accomplishment. This value of privileging the west is, however, undercut in some of the materials in the textbooks. For example, "Homecoming" (Grade 5 textbook) is the story of a Filipino who has not had an easy life in America. He comes home disillusioned about America, and finds that his family is as poor as when he had left them. This story clearly shatters the myth of America as the 'land of milk and honey' with the character being portrayed as having lived a life no less better than the family he left behind in the Philippines to escape from their poverty. In the Grade 7 textbook, Guerrero-Nakpil recalls in "The War" the events of Japanese Occupation and eventual deliverance by the American government. However, unlike other texts in the series, which have depicted Americans as heroes and liberators, Guerrero-Nakpil also speaks of the aftermath that awaited survivors of the infamous Death March years after the event where war veterans who returned and did not "want the benefits which America, fifty years too late, was holding out to them" (in Paterno and Hermosa 2006b, p. 525). Such texts clearly demonstrate that there is no shortage of materials that can help young students explore, discuss, and raise their critical understanding of events and issues in their surroundings. However, how these values are explored by the accompanying processing questions and activities remains to be seen.

4.2 Exploration of Values in the Materials

In the Grade 7 textbook, only thirty of the fifty-two texts (58%) contained processing questions and activities. The remaining texts (usually poems) contained no processing activities and gave the impression of being mere textbook fillers or

supplementary materials that could be used in conjunction with the other texts. Similarly, the Grade 5 textbook contained twelve texts, mostly poems but with a handful of fiction and non-fiction texts, which contained no processing activities. These figures indicate that around 42% of the total number of texts from both textbooks contains no questions or processing activities.

Including a number of texts without processing questions and activities seems impractical and begs the following question: What is the purpose of these texts? Does this assume that readers are willing to read these texts on their own or that teachers will take up these as supplementary material? From a critical literacy perspective, supplementary texts should provide alternative perspectives to texts with similar topics, which these texts did not really do. As such, it would have probably been more cost efficient and practical not to have included these texts in the first place.

Texts that did contain processing questions and activities followed the same format, which include the following:

(a) Reader's Response question – This is a single question posed immediately after the reading material. The title of the activity implies that it is geared towards allowing readers an opportunity to react to the text.
(b) Checking Your Comprehension – This section contains a series of five to seven questions and seems to comprise the bulk of the processing for the material.
(c) Writing to Learn – Following the comprehension question is often a writing based activity that uses the reading material as a springboard for writing a variety of writing exercises – a short reaction, a summary, an expository paragraph, a dialogue, and so on.

In general, the *Reader's Response* section provided questions that allowed students to react to the text. For instance, in the story "Blues Buster," the question asked students to think about their own reactions to the story's protagonist and how it changed as the story unfolded. Also, in the story "The Matchman," the *Reader Response* section asked students how they would feel having the story's protagonist as a friend. In these cases, the questions provided students with opportunities to engage meaningfully with the text. However, sometimes the questions tended to be queries into what seem to be irrelevant aspects of the text. In the Grade 7 textbook, for example, the excerpt from "Flip Gothic" provided rich material to open discussions regarding identity issues in a transnational context but the Reader's Response question simply asked, "Why does Arminda (the protagonist) dye her hair blue?" which is very anticlimactic given the revelations made by the character in the text. Another fictional story, "The Cave near Tikal," tells of the discovery of a cave that promises to reveal the secrets of the Mayan community that lived there many ages ago. However, a sudden earthquake causes the cave to collapse, burying once more the evidence that could have unraveled a great mystery. The story's intriguing plot coupled with the promise of lost cities and the unraveling of ancient wonders may be something worth tapping for a reader's response. Unfortunately, the question in this section simply asked students, "[w]hat do you think you will remember about this selection a year from now?" which fails to elicit a response to what could be a more emotional aspect of the story.

The *Checking Your Comprehension* section consists of five to seven questions that focused on low-level skills by eliciting text-based and a few inference-based responses. These questions were limited to basic *who, what, where, how, and why questions,* and were arranged to follow the narrative structure of the stories. The Grade 5 textbook, in particular, contained no evidence of higher or critical questions posed to the students to move beyond the details of the text. In contrast, the Grade 7 textbook showed some evidence of critical questioning. Of the thirty texts with processing questions, fifteen (30% of the entire textbook) contained higher order questions such as analysis, application and synthesis questions (using Bloom's categories for the levels of thinking). Some of these higher order questions, however, did not necessarily translate to critical inquiries of issues or seemed out of synch with the rest of the questions.

For example, the story "Flip Gothic" tells the story of Arminda, a rebellious Fil-Am teenager who is sent back to the Philippines because her parents fear that she is becoming uncontrollable. The story is told in epistolary form between the girl's mother, Nelia, and her grandmother. Questions that follow the text included the following: "Why is Nelia sending her daughter to the Philippines to live with her grandmother?"; "You know about the Filipino grandmother from the letters she writes to Nelia, her daughter, about having her grandchild over to live with her. What do you know about her?" and "What does the grandmother think has caused Arminda's problems? Do you agree with her?" (Paterno and Hermosa 2006b).

While the initial questions provided a scaffolding of the story, a later one asked students whether or not they agree with the grandmother's assessment of Arminda's problem (which according to the grandmother is basically a "question of identity"). This higher order question tended to assume that typical middle school children are precocious enough to critique the notion of mixed cultural identities and the problems that such an issue imposes upon an adolescent.

A closer examination of the questions of the remaining fourteen texts revealed that only two texts within the entire Grade 7 textbook contained questions that asked students to examine the material in more critically relevant ways by making them think about their preconceived notions about the country's history or the way Japanese and Americans are perceived in contemporary times compared to earlier years. The other twelve texts may have contained questions promoting higher order skills but these did not necessarily engage students with a critical discourse of the texts. The other fifteen texts with comprehension questions were often of the lower order variety such as those found in the Grade 5 textbook (See Table 2).

While the questions of the material may seem wanting, both the Grade 5 and Grade 7 textbooks contained a rich variety of texts whose themes and ideas could have been explored for a more critical perspective but were left underutilized. For instance, both textbooks contained stories about people from marginalized communities that could have been used to probe values relating to social issues from the readers' contexts but the questions failed to elicit ways of problematizing the topic at a deeper level. This could be seen in the Grade 5 textbook in stories concerning indigenous Filipino communities ("The Children of God", "Gift of the Mountains" and "On the Face of the Mountain"). Here, the texts gave voice to the experiences

Table 2 Levels of questioning in Grade 7 textbook

Text	How many questions	Lower order questions (Comprehension and Inferential)	Higher order questions (analysis, application, synthesis, critical)
Blues busters	6	5	1
Don't listen	6	5	1
Dangerous errands	6	6	0
The football player	7	7	0
The diary of Anne frank (adaptation)	6	6	0
Leaving home	7	6	0
Flip gothic	6	5	1
To build a fire	6	5	1
Another April	7	6	1
The wounded wolf	7	6	1
Housekeeper wanted for gentleman cat	6	6	0
River rescue	6	6	0
Only one woof	7	7	0
Daedalus and Icarus	7	6	1
Wings to fly	6	5	1
The great balloon craze	6	6	1
Airy go round	5	5	0
Through skies never sailed	6	6	0
West with night	7	5	2
One bright star	6	5	1
Dark they were and golden eyed	7	7	0
The dog of Pompeii	7	7	0
Lost and found: Pompeii	7	7	0
The mirror	6	5	1
Shipwrecked in Pandanan Island	5	4	1
The mysterious Mayas	6	6	1
The cave near Tikal	7	7	0
Living with the enemy	5	4	1
The war	6	6	0
Grief	6	6	0

of the Tingguians and Kalinga people, but the processing questions merely asked students for text-based answers while refraining from exploring a discussion regarding the oppression of tribal Filipinos, and valuing traditional, indigenous cultures.

None of the processing questions and activities in the textbooks asked its readers to discuss or even identify the values of the texts. Although a number of texts contained serious critical possibilities, questions were quite limited with no attempt to raise the level of awareness in texts or to encourage a change in perspective that is line with the series' objective to "invite the child to question, reflect, and to gain understanding [of the world around him]" (Paterno and Hermosa 2006a, b). As a result of the material's lack of critical questions, readers had limited opportunities

to take a more critical stance while reading. In addition, because the questions tended to focus on getting students to follow the linear structure of the text, readers were led to acquiesce to the dominant and obvert values of the texts. They may not recognize how sometimes such universal values may come in conflict with local norms or how some seemingly positive values mask essentially negative messages and ideas, as shown in the earlier discussion.

In a similar manner, even the *Writing to Learn* section did not provide students with opportunities to critically engage the issues and values within the texts. Instead, the activities asked learners to use the reading texts as a springboard for practicing language in a very decontextualized manner. As such, they were limited to taking notes, making predictions and doing charts. For example, the writing prompt following "On the Face of the Mountain" (Grade 5 textbook) asked students to pretend to be one of the characters and to write a letter to her cousin narrating what had happened. Although this activity allowed students to empathize with the character, its generic nature did not invite students to dwell more critically on the value of justice (or lack thereof) which was apparent in the story.

4.3 Critical Engagement with the Materials

In general, both textbooks contain positive values that could be considered a wellspring for values integration as mandated by the Department of Education. This is evident in the *Reader Response* section where students are asked to react to but not elaborate on the values in the text. Likewise, these values are left unexplored and unchallenged in the questions and activities that followed each text. Without discussion questions that provide opportunities to challenge ways of thinking embedded in the texts, readers were left to believe that values are culturally uniform rather than culturally determined.

Another striking finding is that in spite of the inclusion of several local and Asian writers in the textbook series, the analysis of the material based on authorship underscored how Western-oriented this textbook actually is. In the Grade 7 textbook, for instance, only seven out of the fifty-two texts are written by Filipinos or Asian writers. The other forty-five texts are written by Anglo-American writers. In comparison, the Grade 5 textbook contains more texts authored by Filipino and other Asian writers while the rest of the selections are written by American, Irish and Australian writers (see Fig. 4). Such a distribution of writers seemed to indicate a deliberate attempt to critique the dominance of a western reading list, but the attempt was a feeble one and was undercut by a prevailing attitude of deference towards Anglo-American writers who wrote about Anglo-American issues, experiences and values.

In conclusion, the analysis of the textbook material revealed that although there was a deliberate attempt to challenge the Anglo-centric framework of other textbooks by including texts written by non Anglo-American writers, this effort fell short of its critical potential. More importantly, while the textbooks contained texts

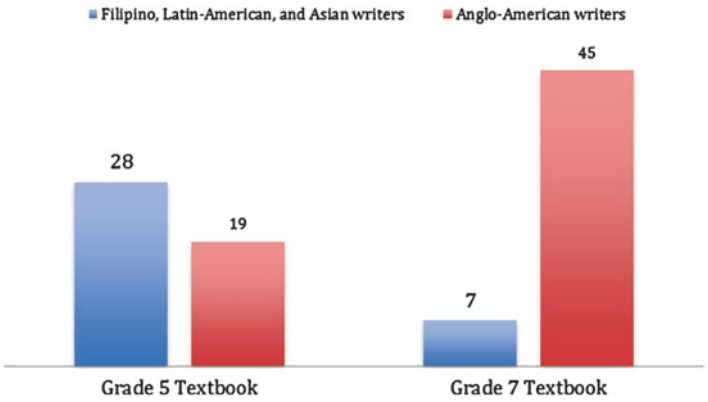

Fig. 4 Comparative distribution of authors in textbooks

that could have been exploited for developing critical literacy practices among children, much of their potential was undermined because of the lack of a clear and consistent pedagogical structure to support the preface that frames the series.

5 Discussion

Critical literacy deals mainly with an epistemological understanding of meaning and language practices in connection with power relationships. It maintains that such language is never neutral and as such, foregrounds how texts serve particular purposes and interests. Because of this, critical literacy is intrinsically tied up with classroom practices of reading with its goal to promote "ways in which knowledge and ways of thinking about knowledge and valuing knowledge are constructed in and through written texts" (Hammond and Macken-Horarik 1999, p. 529).

At first glance, the preface of the textbook series implies a critical perspective especially in its transformative goal to "provide experiences that allow each child to build upon an ever expanding body of knowledge and ability, and to invite that child to question, to reflect, and to gain understanding" (Paterno and Hermosa 2006a, b). But a closer analysis of the materials, including how the values are coded within, revealed otherwise.

In summary, the textbooks contained universally acknowledged values, but not all of them were necessarily relevant to the target audience of middle school children in a second language context. There seemed to be an assumption that universal values found in texts originally published for an older adult audience were easily transferrable to a younger one without encountering problems of comprehension and appreciation. In other words, it implies that contexts have nothing to do with values; as long as a story contains a positive value, young readers will still be able to relate to the experience and identify with the value even if it is presented through

the experience of an adult. With regard to how these values are explored, it was found that discussion of the texts remained limited to low order comprehension questions, nor is there an attempt to critique much less unearth the values of the texts.

Another interesting finding was the presence of rich material for critiquing culture and values in both the Grade 5 and Grade 7 textbooks. Perhaps, there was just a need to expand how such critiquing could have been better incorporated within the framework of the questions and activities of both textbooks because critical literacy needs to be seen as "an important topic not just for adolescent readers, for all readers" (Leland et al. 2012, p. 436).

Moreover, the analysis revealed that there were generally universal and positive values embedded in the texts. Yet, a closer inspection shows that these values are actually mostly Western values consistent with findings of past research on the dominance of Anglo-American texts in ELT material (Shin et al. 2011; Xiong and Qian 2012). A handful of texts and their processing activities, particularly in the Grade 7 textbook, demonstrated a deliberate attempt to include texts that challenged the Anglo-centric framework prevalent in other textbooks in the market, but this effort was not consistently maintained and was undercut by the deliberate attention called to the 'award winning texts' of Anglo-American writers without doing the same for all the other writers in the series.

The dominance of Anglo-American writers in the reading materials designed for Filipino students demonstrated the privileged status of such writers. One can argue the benefits of including texts from other cultures in a textbook, and the "universality" of the values embedded in such texts, but because they were filtered through the Anglo-American experience, they positioned the readers to imagine themselves within the context of the stories even if they were not. As such, there seemed to be a tacit assumption that values are not only universal, but also culturally transferrable when in truth they are not. In fact, it is not uncommon to note how such positive values and norms in ELT textbooks are often embedded within Anglo-centric experiences which are then propagated as if they are universal ones (Shin et al. 2011; Xiong and Qian 2012). Even when textbooks used materials to depict local cultural experiences, a closer examination of its ideological assumptions revealed that such local texts did not necessarily resolve issues of inequality but may in fact contribute to its continuing propagation (see Opoku-Amankwa et al. 2011). Without a more critical perspective, readers of texts assume and ratify their inclusion into the communal values of the text without realizing that texts are often designed to be acceptable and accessible to like-minded readers (Widdowson 2003). Because of this, there is a need for teachers and textbook developers to recognize the ways in which texts transfer assumptions, values and beliefs to readers that are far from neutral or universal.

Yet another finding of this study was that in general, the low level questions and activities coupled with the lack of value identification and critical inquiry tended to make readers adopt an attitude of textual deference. Although the books included several examples of local texts, which have the potential to engage readers critically, they were often left underutilized. In addition, the reading-writing connection,

considered an essential component in developing critical readers, was often contrived and superficial with prompts that sought to practice discrete language skills rather than enabling students to think more deeply about the topics.

6 Practical Directions for Language Materials Development

In light of the discussion points highlighted here, there are a number of practical directions for textbook writers and developers especially given the reforms taking place in the Philippine educational landscape at present.

With the recent implementation of the K to 12 Program together with the mother tongue-based multilingual-based education or MTB-MLE policy, there is now stronger emphasis on developing critical thinking skills across the grade levels as well as highlighting the importance of plurality, cultural diversity, and student engagement. An integration of a critical reading framework and strategies alongside traditional comprehension exercises may help students foster a keener awareness of real life issues. As such, textbook developers and writers ought to make more conscientious decisions in the selection and development of materials and activities that more clearly reflect a critical literacy perspective.

Materials developers can include texts that contain potentially problematic issues – whether these may pertain to the "genre, topic or discourses embedded in the text" (Wallace 1992, p. 103) that can initiate a discussion among the students about related personal and social experiences, and encourage them to raise questions about their own socio-political contexts. For example, while most textbooks are organized according to themes (e.g., love for family, loyalty to country), textbook developers might want to consider texts that talk about a different angle, perhaps a different form of loyalty to country – not the usual stay and serve the country – to trigger a discussion of the different ways they can serve their country, and thus question 'traditional'notions of loyalty. There is also a need to include other modes of texts – visual and perhaps digital – in addition to the traditional written essays and literary pieces. As digital natives, students of the twenty-first century probably spend more time reading non-academic texts and thus should be exposed to these kinds of texts early on. With the push for teaching English as an international language (EIL) – one that recognizes the purpose, context and audience for which the language will be used, it has become increasingly more important to use intercultural texts. Culture-specific texts allow readers to see cultures other than their own and give them opportunities for addressing such differences. Such texts also expose textbook users to other varieties of English, and thus help them build up their repertoire of vocabulary and expressions necessary in developing strategic competence, which is crucial in communicating in multicultural contexts.

Finally, textbook writers can also include multiple texts that talk about the same topic (Behrman 2006). This way, students understand that authorship is subjective and constructed. They will see that authors are shaped by ideological, cultural,

political, and social forces and that these influence the 'truth' authors render in their texts. For example, the refugee crisis in Europe will be discussed differently by someone who works closely with the refugees and by someone who just observes from the outside. The picture they create of this issue will be presented differently, owing to their differing experiences and contexts.

With regard to the choice and design of the activities, textbook writers and developers may wish to review more carefully how well the questions and activities for each selection integrate with one another so that there is a clearer rationale in the accomplishment of each task towards a more defined objective. In addition, rather than simply asking students to read texts and demonstrate their understanding of it, perhaps material developers can also incorporate activities that challenge students to manipulate their understanding of them, thereby moving from being merely 'text decoders' and 'text users' to 'text analysts and critics' (Luke and Freebody 1999). In order to do so, they need to extend their questioning repertoire to include ways through which students can become more aware of the ideologies or assumptions that underlie texts. For instance, instead of simply asking what the topic of a text is, students can also explore how the topic is being written about, or use their background knowledge (or research skills) to consider what other ways of writing about the topic exist, which voices are being privileged or marginalized, and in what way is the text trying to position its readers in relation to the topic (Wallace 1992; Janks et al. 2014; Luke et al. 2001). Asking these kinds of questions can be particularly tricky because children, and people in general, are rarely asked to consider the notion of voice or the writer's intentions and yet, this is precisely why such questions need to be asked. Doing so may help students to cultivate a stronger stance vis-à-vis the texts they read. More importantly, inasmuch as students are taught the strategies to identify and recognize the various elements of a text, they should also be overtly taught to utilize strategies that allow them to detect cultural biases and differentiate between the explicit and implicit values in a text. This way, students may learn to raise questions and resist the dominant ways in which a text positions its readers.

Incorporating a variety of authentic problem-posing activities is another practical direction for material developers. These may complement the discussion of the texts and expose the ways in which power structures are inherent within the fabric of a text's discourse. The following are a few sample problem posing activities and approaches that may help foster critical awareness and understanding of values in a text:

- **Changing perspectives**: In this activity, readers are asked to examine the motivations of different characters and perhaps even retell the story based on their understanding of a different character. Doing so may help student identify how certain values get privileged depending on the point of view of a character.
- **Switching**: In *Leaving Home*, where the protagonist's mother and father dissuade her from leaving home because she is female, students may be asked to reimagine whether or not a male protagonist would encounter the same situation. This activity can be adapted any number of ways, substituting gender issues for

social class and ethnic race. This kind of activity helps students to examine more closely and raise questions about the intersection between values and social constructs.

- **Mind and Alternative minds**. (McLaughlin and Allen 2002 in McLaughlin and DeVoogd 2004). This activity involves asking readers to compare and contrast the perspective of two characters. Readers are asked to share what they think about each character's perspective, which may serve as a basis for a critical discussion as students juxtapose their interpretations of each one and the values they may represent.

Although it might seem that incorporating a critical stance may be daunting especially for the primary levels, it is actually easier than one might think. Children as young as primary levels have been introduced to critical literacy practices with more than a margin of success (see McLaughlin and De Voogd 2004, for instance).

In the final analysis, material developers need to design activities that foster critical awareness through a careful selection of thought-provoking texts and a substantial amount of activities designed to help students raise thoughtful inquiries regarding the world around them. This study has acknowledged that the existing materials already provide a surfeit of values and ideas worth exploring. What students need are activities that ask them to recognize and challenge the values and ideas contained therein. For this to happen, however, we need teachers and material developers who themselves are committed to engaging in critical literacy practices.

7 Conclusion

In recent times, the rhetoric in classroom discourse has shifted towards a more critical perspective in order to provide teachers with greater self-reflexivity in posing questions regarding the construction and interpretation of textbooks (Pennycook 2001). Using the lens of critical literacy, this chapter analyzed and discussed values embedded in two middle school textbooks by a leading publisher in the Philippines.

Clearly, in spite of their best intentions, the two textbooks seemed to be driven towards the accumulation of specific knowledge and skills without providing much of an avenue for critical reading. Moreover, the prevalence of low-level comprehension questions prevented students from developing a more critical stance when reading texts. As such, students were 'trained' to become passive readers, adopting a position of deference because they fail to question or critique issues and values embedded in the texts, even in something as seemingly innocuous as a table of contents.

If students are trained to be critical readers of texts, then they can use and transfer these literacy practices to recognize and uphold or to question and reject values, beliefs, and ideologies they encounter beyond the textbook. Such critical foundations eventually pave the way for adults who are more able to understand and evalu-

ate the ways in which authors shape readers' perspectives. As such, it is incumbent upon textbook developers to perhaps adopt a more critical perspective when undertaking the task of textbook development, particularly those geared towards younger audiences. It is likewise important to examine other textbooks geared towards primary and middle school children to create a broader picture regarding the quality of textbook production in the country.

Alongside this, teachers themselves also need to exercise greater critical awareness of carrying out the functions of their profession. Because whether teachers care to admit it or not, all teaching, both in an L1 or L2 context, is essentially politically motivated and textbooks and teachers alike play a crucial role in the way such politics are eventually played out in the classroom. It is therefore recommended to determine further ways in which textbooks anchored in a critical framework are complemented by strategies undertaken in the actual classroom.

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ELT Materials as Sites of Values Education: A Preliminary Observation of Secondary School Materials

Siew Mei Wu and Gene Segarra Navera

Abstract The chapter raises and explores issues on English language teaching (ELT) materials as sites of values education in the Singapore secondary schools. It specifically examines secondary textbooks as a potential repository of cultural values. Using discourse analytical tools including White's (The language of attitude, arguability and interpersonal positioning. From The Appraisal Homepage. Web site: http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/index.html, 2002) appraisal framework and a close reading of the selected texts, the authors demonstrate how certain values may be surfaced from the resources available for teaching in the secondary schools. The chapter concludes that the potential values offered by the textbooks may be tapped by teachers who need to exercise due care when critically engaging them in the classroom so that these values are realized in their proper contexts.

Keywords Cultural values • Singapore • ELT • Textbooks

1 Introduction

Two basic questions are addressed in this chapter on values education in English language teaching (ELT) in Singapore: *What kinds of cultural values surface in secondary school English textbooks in Singapore? How are they realized in the classroom if they are realized at all?* The first examines secondary textbooks as a potential repository or source of cultural values while the second investigates whether these values are actually discussed or even tapped in the English language classrooms of Singapore. Before we address these questions, we wish to provide the reader some theoretical grounding and a brief review of relevant literature on values education in ELT. The studies we mention below inform the discussion throughout the chapter.

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Like many other forms of teaching, language teaching is fundamentally moral in nature. Johnston and Buzzelli (2007, p. 95) explain morality as the involvement of "crucial yet difficult and ambiguous beliefs and decisions about what is right and good for learners and others." If we adopt this general description of the term morality, it is not difficult to envisage the moral elements embedded in various processes in the English language learning journey – from the conceptualisation of the curriculum, the development of materials, the teaching approaches and methodologies used in class, and the assessment stages.

Investigation into the moral element in language teaching, with a focus on the teacher is an area that has received some attention in the field of ELT. Johnston and Buzzelli (2007) highlight the seminal work of Edge (1996) and Johnston et al. (1998) that enquire into the moral dimension of language teaching. In particular, Edge (1996) points out what he terms as three types of 'cross cultural paradox' that involve tensions between considerations of education culture and teaching English as a second language culture, for example. Johnston et al. (1998) adopt similar conceptual frameworks of such cultural tensions but investigate these issues in the smaller scale contexts of English language classrooms of three ESL teachers at a university-based intensive English language programme. Essentially, the study addressed morality issues construed implicitly in these areas: classroom rules and regulations, the curricular substructure, and expressive morality. Subsequently, Johnston and Buzzelli (2007) describe the general direction on studies into morality in language teaching as focusing on these areas: the moral dimensions of classroom interaction; values and politics; professional ethics; and the role of religious beliefs in language teaching.

Johnston and Buzzelli (2007) basically describe the state of investigation into the moral dimensions of language teaching as in its infancy stage, with a clear awareness of the difficulties in the probing of such issues in the language classroom. Four problems surface in such investigations: the absence of a good conceptual definition of 'morality,' the intersection between the societal and individual, that morality is embedded within individuals and not necessarily displayed for inspection, and lastly, that cultural and linguistic barriers hinder research in the area. Furthermore, the focus on morality and the language teacher has also meant that other equally important sites construed by the moral dimension have been left not investigated:

> [A] crucial arena in which moral values and issues are played out is that of curriculum and course books; the moral dimensions of published materials, and the moral consequences of choices about which vocabulary, what form of pronunciation, what grammar, and what pragmatics competencies to teach is an area that is ripe for enquiry (Johnston and Buzzelli 2007, p. 103).

In the context of Southeast Asia, we cite the work of Dat (2003), which discusses the need to localise ELT materials for the language classroom. He highlights the incongruence between mainstream cultural assumptions and that of the local culture that renders language instruction ineffective. He cites various researches' arguments for a need for course content to be motivated by cross-cultural considerations so that there is "more room for learners to express values important to them" (p. 170). Dat

explains localisation from three perspectives: conceptualising local learners' culture by linking language study to their present receptivity besides their future use; helping learners to express their identity by providing them with the tools to reflect on themselves using their personal knowledge and experiences; and thirdly, addressing learners' right to decide what they need or do not need in such a way that materials inspire their interest and affective involvement.

2 English Language Teaching and Moral Education in Singapore

Singapore's bilingual policy requires every student to learn English as one of the school subjects for 10–20 years of their school career, depending on their educational path chosen. The Ministry of Education provides a comprehensive national English Language Syllabus (2010) that guides educationists in the navigation of English language skills development for both the primary and secondary schools. The evolutionary (Lim 2001) process shaping the design of the syllabus is described by Cheah (2002), and she points out the emphasis on English being taught and learnt for knowledge and technology transfer in the very early days of its design. The general thrust in 'dictating a prescriptive, skills-based grammar approach to language learning' remained a feature of the syllabus until what Cheah observes as the stage of rethinking ELT in the 1980s. The move away from prescriptivism to an expressive model at that stage also saw the change of status of English language from one of the four official languages and its functional role to English being the first language in the national school curriculum. The main aim of English language teaching in the 1991 syllabus aimed to "help pupils develop their linguistic and communicative competence to meet both their personal, educational, vocational, social and cultural spheres" (MOE 1991 in Lin 2003, p. 230–231). Subsequently, the next wave of reshaping the syllabus came in 2001 where

> Key principles and approaches first introduced in the 1991 syllabus, such as learner centredness and a focus on process and contextualisation among others, were reintroduced although significantly, the focus on culture has been played down (Cheah 2002, p. 75).

The current English Language Syllabus (2010) is described as building upon the 2001 syllabus and continues to focus on the key features of the EL Syllabus 2001, which are language use, learning outcomes, text types, and grammar (EL syllabus 2010, p. 7). It is notable that throughout the stages of reshaping the English language syllabus, there is no explicit articulation of the place of moral education as there are other platforms that address such initiative (see next paragraph). The emphasis of English language education is clearly on the development of literacy and proficiency. Any connection between the moral element and the English classroom is possibly implicit and incidental, perhaps because language, culture and values are inextricably connected.

A programme that is primarily focused on civic and moral education has long been institutionalized in Singapore. In fact, the city-state is noted to have one of the most tenacious and vigorous governments in terms of pursuing and implementing a compulsory civic and moral education programme in the school system (Chew 1998, p. 505). Since its independence from the British colonial system in 1959, the city-state has come up with various permutations of values education programme in the schools, but Chew (1998) notes that "citizenship training" has remained as the main thrust of these efforts (p. 507). Chew reaffirms Tan's (1994) earlier observation that moral education in Singapore is conceptualized as a means of nation building—one that is "aimed at forging together, by promoting shared values, the four major racial and cultural communities" and "used for preserving national and cultural identity against the perceived erosion of Asian roots by Western education" (p. 61). The emphasis on social harmony and on developing a moral and cultural ballast rooted in the Asian experience, notes Tan, has been viewed as "instrumental towards a strong economy, including the attraction of foreign investors" (ibid.).

It is clear then that in the Singapore educational system, there is an established platform where teachers and students can discuss values and morality. Gopinathan (1995), notes Chew (1998), classifies civic and moral education, together with history and social studies, as part of the "cultural curriculum" intended to contribute to the "enhancement of social cohesion, political identity and loyalty to the state" (Gopinathan 1995 in Chew 1998, p. 514). Other subjects like English, mathematics, and the sciences are then part of the "non-cultural curriculum" in that they are not designed to directly contribute to the cultural and political agenda of the city-state. The boundary that separates the two curricula, however, becomes blurred when the official rhetoric on National Education launched in 1997 and implemented up to the present is considered. Chew notes that then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong "made a pointed remark that *all* teachers would have to help transmit national values" (p. 156, emphasis supplied). The English language education then is a potential platform where values such as "national cohesion, an instinct for survival and confidence in the future" can be effectively communicated.

3 Method

This chapter examines English language teaching materials used in Singapore secondary school textbooks in order to understand these curricular materials from a moral dimension. Using discourse analytical tools, we investigate selected narrative passages used in textbooks as they represent sites of morality. As Johnston and Buzzelli (2007, p. 102) explain, "… a deeper understanding of the moral dimensions of language necessitates discourse-analytic research in a range of contexts and settings," including discourse analysis of textbook genres.

Our study adopts White's (2002) appraisal systems of affect, appreciation, and judgment in order to tease out the values that surface in our textual sites. The systems of affect and judgment would be more informative of moral ideologies and

thus, would be given focus in this analysis. The appraisal framework highlights the importance of evaluative lexis, and is organized in terms of sets of options of evaluative meanings that speakers/writers can typically use in certain contexts and the linguistic realizations of those meanings. The three major systems of attitude, graduation, and engagement signal writer evaluation of a range of entities in relation to the intensity and negotiability of these assessments. The valuation of emotions, people's behavior, and the aesthetic quality of things constitute the expression of attitude. Being multifaceted, the model accounts for the manipulation of the intensity of these valuations (graduation), and the dialogic space afforded for the negotiation of these values (engagement).

In order to have an idea of how values are particularly treated in the English language classroom, we interviewed two textbook writers in Singapore. Both interviewees have considerable experience teaching English in secondary schools. The interview provided us insights as to how values are integrated into instructional materials for English language teaching and how these values are and/or may be treated in the Singapore classroom.

For purposes of illustration, we demonstrate our analysis of two texts used as samples of target genres (that is, narrative and news reporting) that students in Singapore secondary schools are expected to learn how to write. Using the analytical concepts of judgment and affect from the appraisal framework, we identify and examine expressions that suggest judgment of human behavior in the texts. We also tease out contradictions, inconsistencies, and complexities in the characterizations and descriptions of people. We then show how these characterizations evoke particular affective engagements that may be tied with interpretations of what is valuable in Singapore society.

The two texts under examination are as follows: (1) an extract from the fantasy novel *The Conch Bearer* written by award-winning Indian-American writer Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni and (2) the news report titled *Runners hit the street to support ex-offenders* published in *The Straits Times*, a widely circulated Singaporean broadsheet. Both are used as sample texts or *Texts in Focus* in Singapore secondary school English language textbooks (Doyle et al. 2011; Sandra-Segeram et al. 2010). We believe these sample texts serve as potential resources for teaching values in the secondary school English language classes.[1]

The study is limited to the analysis of the selected texts and the interviews with two textbook writers in Singapore. In a sense, the authors acknowledge that they may have only scratched the surface as far as understanding values education in ELT within the Singapore context is concerned. The authors recognize that classroom observations and learner interviews may potentially offer insights that are not currently covered in this chapter.

4 Analysis of a Text-in-Focus: An Extract from Fiction

Using the appraisal framework, our analysis of the expressions in selected narratives used as sample texts in the instructional materials for secondary schools yielded a wide range of judgments of human behavior. These judgments are either explicit descriptions or implied in the texts. In the extract from *The Conch Bearer* written by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, a complex valuation of the characters' behaviors becomes manifest upon close analysis. The analysis of the sample text suggesting affect and judgment is summarized in Tables 1 and 2. In the following, we describe the extract of the story used in the textbook while discussing how expressions of affect and judgment in the said extract open up spaces or opportunities for teaching values in the English language classroom.

The narrative extract describes the situation of the young boy, Anand, who had to give up school and work for a tea stall owner, Haru, to help his mother and his ill sister. His father left to work in Dubai but stopped sending money 'unaccountably' after a few months. He also stopped sending letters to the family leaving Anand, his mother and sister without knowledge of what had happened to him. The way the writer Divakaruni describes the behavior of these four characters gives readers an

Table 1 Vocabulary items suggesting affect

Expressions from the Text	Positive/negative	Interpretation
Shivered	Negative	Cold
Solemn gangly 20 year old	Negative	Unhappy
Happy young boy	Positive	Happy
Turned his life upside down	Negative	Sad stage in Anand's life
Black eyes sparkled with merry mischievous intelligence	Positive	Signs of youthfulness
Cautious expression	Negative	Frightened

Table 2 Vocabulary items suggesting judgment

Expressions from the Text	Positive/Negative	Interpretation
Gossips travelled fast here	Negative-normality	Rumour mongering is rife
Haru, frying …in stale peanut oil	Negative- veracity	Unscrupulous ways of business men
Cautious expression he has learned since he started working for Haru	Negative + capacity	Unfair treatment of employees
If he didn't manage to get them out, Haru would be sure to yell at him…	Negative-propriety	Poor treatment of employees
… had earned him a slap and a curse from Haru	Negative-propriety	Poor treatment of employees
'Dishwashing liquid', shouting so that everyone within the 50 yards could hear him	Negative-propriety	Uncouth ways of employers

idea of the kind of values the characters possess. At first glance, there appears to be a polarized representation of Anand's family and his boss Haru through descriptions of the characters' behaviors and their utterances. On the one hand, the reader finds positive evaluation of Anand (in the text, Anand is described to wish for a magic apple for his ill sister to recover, work very hard for his age, resist the temptation of stealing a pancake despite hunger, cope with the disappointment of not attending school, work really hard so as to keep hope of going to school alive), his father (Anand's father is described as having sent money after a month of working overseas and being an affectionate husband to his wife), and mother (Anand's mother is described to have opened a savings account to save hard earned money, bought gifts for kids, remained persistent in writing letters to her husband overseas, sacrificed roof over her head, took up a job when her husband went missing, had a resolute belief in her husband's fidelity, remained firm in shutting out gossips). On the other hand, there is the somewhat negative evaluation of Haru especially with the apparently hurtful language he uses against Anand. Yet, there is complexity in the characters and the way they act in the extract, and this is a pedagogical opportunity to discuss values in the English language classroom.

Anand's father appeared to be a good family man in the early descriptions of him by the storyteller. Yet, the storyteller later reveals that after a few months in Dubai, the father stopped sending money 'unaccountably.' That there was also no word from him casts doubt on his character—his fidelity and concern for his family. The extract does not provide information about what had happened to the father, and this may be an opportunity for the teacher to encourage the students to read the entire book by Divakaruni to find out more about Anand's fate and that of his father. On the other hand, the lack of information may also pose an opportunity for the students to think about how to make sense of the sudden and abrupt absence of Anand's father. Should they rely on speculations and rumors about what could possibly have gone wrong, despite lack of information? Or should they adopt the position of Anand's mother who maintained her belief in the fidelity of her husband in spite of a suggestion from a lady neighbor ("Sometimes, men go to a new country and come across another woman, a younger, prettier one. It's tempting for them to start a new life with her, to cut off ties—").

In the extract, Anand's mother is cast as a faithful and caring wife and mother, but she also comes off as someone dependent on her husband or the man of the family. Her dismissal of Anand's yearning to make his ill sister Meera better through magic easily reveals her being grounded in what is real ("Those things happen only storybooks, son. Don't you know that by now?"), yet it also suggests a certain pessimism on her part. Her matter-of-fact response to Anand's secret wish ("that someone would give him a magic apple like the one he had read about") points to a sense of jadedness that to dash a young boy's sense of wonder becomes rather easy.

Anand is described in the extract as a hardworking and honest boy; one who admirably adjusts to disappointment of not attending school and keeps the hope of going to school alive. Yet, his aspirations are caught up in his family's state of poverty and the seemingly helpless situation he is in. Despite his aspiration to change ("I want to change my life"), he seems unable to rise above the current state of

affairs. He is constrained by disabling circumstances: his youth and lack of capital (economic, social and cultural), the implied unequal social arrangements that make women in the families dependent on men, and the harsh child labor environment he has to endure to help his family make both ends meet.

Haru, the tea stall owner, is described as having a "blistering tongue and ever ready fist," but his business actually provides an opportunity for Anand to work and help his family. His character comes off as frugal and practical for opting to use ash to scrub aluminum pots. He is revealed to be hardworking as well for he has been in the business for 50 years.

Expressions that suggest judgment of character provide teachers avenues to talk about values, especially empathy with the characters' situation. Potentially, the extract from writer Divakaruni's novel invites a certain affective engagement from the local readers—a sense of pity towards the main character Anand. This affect when tied with certain interpretations of poverty in places like the one depicted in the story (especially an interpretation that poverty so constrains the individual that an attempt to change his or her situation would be impossible without resorting to something magical) creates an emotional appeal that makes it possible for a Singaporean student to think of himself or herself in a much better position. The text lends itself to discussion of the values of empathy and a better appreciation of education and perhaps, a student's lot in life.

It should be noted that there is no explicit discussion of values in the textbook. What we find is the extract with marginal annotations from the textbook writers. Based on our description and discussion above, the extract even without explicit prompts on values education offers possibilities for the teacher to guide students to adhere to certain values. The annotations that appear on the margins of the extract include questions and statements that guide the students to engage in independent close reading. They ask the reader to identify features of the narrative, infer the feelings of the characters, and derive meanings of specific terms based on the context, among others. Some of these questions can potentially serve as opportunities for values education as they enable student-readers to make judgments on the characters' behavior in the extract (see examples of questions below). These questions, however, remain evocative and do not direct or impose on the reader a certain way of looking at the characters:

1. How do you predict that Anand will respond to Haru? (p. 267)
2. Do you think it was right of Anand not to eat the pakora? Does his action cause you to admire him more or less? (p. 269)
3. What do we learn here about Anand's character? How does Anand's mother (a supporting character) help us learn this about him? (p. 271)

The post-reading activities that are suggested after the presentation of the extract are also a potential resource for teaching values. They include questions that enable the students to further explore the narrative features ("What is the main problem [conflict] which Anand faces in this story? Is it internal or external?"), infer about the main character ("Copy the table below onto a piece of paper. Write down inferences about Anand in the first column. In the second column, write down the con-

textual information from the text which helps you make that inference."), examine linguistic features that make the story come to life ("Fill in a sensory chart…based on the details found in the first three paragraphs of the story."), generate the theme of the story, and imagine a story based on specific details of the extract ("Reread the story for important details and write a short story, which makes Anand's father the main character instead. Imagine why he has gone missing [you may give him the name Vignesh]."). These activities directly encourage students to review previous lessons on making inferences and writing narratives. It enables them to synthesize previous insights in order to carry out the suggested tasks. Allowing the students to deepen their understanding of the extract from Divakaruni's *The Conch Bearer* through the post-reading activities potentially reinforces their appreciation of judgment on the characters' behaviors.

5 Analysis of a Text-in-Focus: News Report from *The Straits Times*

Values such as unity, solidarity, empathy, law-abidingness, gratitude, and endurance are evident in the news report *Runners hit the street to support ex-offenders* used as a sample text in a secondary 2 English textbook. As in the case of the sample extract from a work of fiction, the news report is used to illustrate the features of the target genre. In the following analysis, we do not just focus on the descriptions in the text that suggest a particular judgment and affect; we also take into consideration the textbook writers' comments on the organizational structure and language features of the *Text in Focus* as well as the visual/ pictorial representations used to complement or accentuate the text.

The sample text *Runners hit the street to support ex-offenders* reports on the *Yellow Ribbon Prison Run* participated by about 7600 people in support of the *message of acceptance and reintegration of former offenders*. Easily, the report implies the significance to the Singaporean society of such values as unity, solidarity, law-abidingness, gratitude, and endurance. These values are highly significant in that they are consistent with the government's vision of Singapore as a *Renaissance City* or a distinctive global city that is both a "vibrant magnet for international talent" and the "best home for an inclusive and cohesive population" (Renaissance City Plan III 2008, p. 17).

The sample text's lead or opening paragraph, shown below, underscores the value of solidarity by foregrounding the participation of hundreds of people in spite of the morning rain. The author specifically used the expression *braved yesterday morning's rain* to suggest this.

> About 7,600 people braved yesterday's morning rain to take part in the Yellow Ribbon Prison Run, in support of the message of acceptance and reintegration of former offenders.

The lead is then followed by a recounting of a case of a former offender who participated in the event, the gravity of his past offenses and how he has reintegrated himself back into mainstream society. This particular recounting illustrates how an offender *puts his life back together* and provides justification for the *Yellow Ribbon Prison Run*. A direct speech from the former offender is also included, and this contains the former offender's explanation for his participation in the run. In his utterance, he communicates his sense of gratitude to those who helped him while he was in prison. As the report unfolds, more details are given about the run: when it was first mounted, what types of run were available to participants, the specific outcomes of the run, highlights of the event and the involvement of government officials and specific individuals who are non-offenders.

These details are important in that they establish the sustainability of the initiative ("The run, into its second year…"), its viability or practicability ("The event raised about $110,000 through registration fees and donations…which finances rehabilitation, reintegration and family support programmes for former offenders") as well as its credibility ("Law Minister and Second Minister for Home Affairs… flagged off the run"). The sustainability, viability and credibility of the initiative are important values themselves as they rationalize the conduct of the activity.

Marginal comments from the textbook authors describe the organizational structure and language features of the sample text. These comments are placed in colored boxes located on the left and right margins of the text in focus. The comments, though meant to primarily describe the linguistic and organizational features of the text, are themselves indicative of values that student-readers ought to develop when writing a news report. These values, though not necessarily related to the values suggested in the sample text, are significant in that they highlight specific sample text values and direct the student-readers attention on these other values. For instance, the authors' commentary on the body paragraph below foregrounds the necessity of including details to add *credibility* to the report:

> The body paragraphs provide details about the event. Quotes from the people involved are included to add interest and credibility to the report.

Beyond that, however, the comment brings the student-readers attention to specific direct quotes, explanations, and reported speeches in the sample text that as mentioned earlier communicate specific values. Surely, the comments on the organizational structure and language features of the sample text are meant to suggest how students may be able to write a specific genre and adhere to certain principles or conventions of writing, but they are not supposed to be necessarily taken as neutral or detached from the text in focus. Their configuration with the sample text in the course material develops a meaning potential that, when tapped in the classroom environment or teaching-learning situation, serves as a resource for values education.

In terms of graphics, there are three stretches of expressions that are color highlighted in the sample text—a visual strategy that is meant to draw the attention of the reader to a specific linguistic or organizational feature of the text. The highlighted stretches of expressions include the lead (cited earlier), a body paragraph,

and the concluding paragraph. Interestingly, these highlighted parts of the text—the lead, a body paragraph, and the concluding paragraph—foreground values that are consistent with the Singapore's notion of an inclusive and cohesive society. As discussed earlier, the lead uses expressions that suggest solidarity and a sense of community that is considered important in maintaining harmony in a culturally diverse society like Singapore.

The highlighted body paragraph is a reported speech of the vice-chairman of the run's organizing committee. The reported speech is an interesting take on the run as it explicitly tells the symbolic value of the *hilly stretches* incorporated in the run: they are *difficulties former offenders face when they decide to turn over a new leaf and rejoin society*. The expressions suggest that the participants are directed to empathize with the former offenders' struggle to reintegrate themselves in Singaporean society. Clearly, empathy is another value that serves well in developing social cohesiveness.

Empathy through an expression of moral support is reinforced by the highlighted conclusion, which is a direct speech from one of the participants, described in the earlier paragraph as a 44-year old full time athlete that "ran the 6 km route even though he was observing the Ramadan fast because he felt for the cause." That the participant "felt for the cause" instantiates a sense of empathy and may potentially persuade readers to acknowledge the necessity of supporting former offenders who have decided to rejoin the mainstream society.

The analysis demonstrates that the three components of a specific item in a lesson of an English language textbook configure to highlight or foreground certain values that, in this case, are consistent with the values upheld in the Singaporean society. This suggests that English language textbooks serve as potential resources for values education.

6 Textually Constructed Values and Their Implicit Realization in the Singapore Classroom

Notwithstanding the two sample texts' obvious differences, they share certain features that may probably be said of other sample texts in the secondary school English language resource books. They both evoke certain values that may be considered highly regarded in the context of Singapore. Putting premium on education, fairness in the treatment of workers, social harmony, solidarity, and inclusiveness are some of the values considered significant in a multi-cultural and multi-religious society such as Singapore. Moreover, what the analysis of the two sample texts of different genres suggests is that their reading can potentially generate a certain disposition among their intended readers—students and teachers included. It goes without saying that such disposition is made possible in the classroom—the site where negotiation of meanings takes place.

The analysis of the texts suggests at least three points that reaffirm and substantiate earlier studies on morality and values education in ELT. Firstly, ELT necessarily has a moral dimension (Johnston and Buzzelli 2007), and this may be evident in the instructional materials used by both students and teachers. The importance of these values may not necessarily be explicitly stated in the instructional materials, but that they can actually be evoked and potentially discussed in the classroom reinforces the idea that ELT is not value-free.

Secondly, the use of English language textbooks as potential resources for values education channels the three perspectives on localization of materials expressed by Dat (2003). By potentially generating a certain disposition among intended readers—a disposition that is hinged on values that surface and are given attention from reading the texts—the instructional materials help link language study to the present receptivity of the students, enable learners to express their identity through a reflection on the significance of such values, and inspire the learners to develop affective involvement.

Finally, the values that can be generated from ELT materials potentially channel those that are emphasized in the civic and moral education programme espoused by the national school system (Chew 1998; Tan 1994). The relationship between ELT and moral education may be one of complementarity in that the former potentially reinforces or bolsters the latter. How exactly are these values realized in the classroom if they are realized at all? To find out more about how the values textually constructed in the resource materials are realized in the English language classroom in Singapore, we interviewed two textbook developers who have had considerable experience teaching in secondary schools in Singapore. The interview with the two ELT textbook writers was conducted on 10 December 2012 at the Director's Office of the Centre for English Language Communication at the National University of Singapore. In the course of the interview, we note that both interviewees would reaffirm each other's ideas and share very similar opinions on the relationship between English language teaching and values education. We deem it unnecessary to distinguish one from the other in the discussion below.

Both interviewees are careful to point out that English language teachers in secondary schools are "*not* values education teachers" (emphasis added). The statement from the two textbook developers appears not in consonance with the official rhetoric on teachers as "purveyors of values" noted by Chew (1998, p. 516); however, they concede that ELT materials writers and teachers "take a more implicit role" in enabling students to develop certain values. This implicit role is an observation that they share with Johnston et al. (1998) who point to the role of the ESL teacher as a moral agent. In that regard, the moral dimension of ELT via course materials cannot be overemphasized.

While the implicit role of the teacher as a moral agent cannot be denied, the interviewees maintain that in developing materials for English language in secondary schools, textbook writers primarily focus on language skills and language purposes. They add that this approach takes "a meta-cognitive perspective," which emphasizes how the writer's craft is accomplished through her work or writing. This perspective, the interviewees point out, allows students to do text analysis and learn

how the use of certain words or expressions can have impact on the reader. It basically encourages students "to think about their thinking."

Since the primary emphasis in materials development is placed on the linguistic features of texts (English language syllabus 2010) and their potential impact on readers, textbook writers, according to the interviewees, are cautious in avoiding "explicit discussion of values, lifestyle options, social taboos, potentially divisive topics like religion and race, and sensitive interpersonal issues like cyber-bullying and gambling" in developing textbooks meant for students. These are issues that students taking an English language class may be experiencing, but that English language teachers may not be prepared to discuss. The interviewees emphasize "We take extra care in avoiding cases where teachers are put on the spot."

Needless to say, the option to discuss values in the English language classroom primarily rests on the teacher as she is in direct contact with the students.[2] This option is, however, treated with caution and guardedness in the Singapore context. As one of our interviewees says, "As English teachers, we make sure that values education is *not done directly and made not explicit at all*." Notwithstanding such sentiment, the implicitness of the teacher's role in values education in the English language classroom echoes the position of language education scholars who underscore the moral dimension of ELT (cf. Johnston and Buzzeli 2007; Johnston et al. 1998).

Even our interviewees concede that English language teachers do have a lot of room to discuss values as the subject lends itself to values education. They admit that values become apparent in the class discussion, and in fact, certain conditions optimize the effectiveness of values education in the English language classroom. These factors include (1) openness of the students to discuss certain issues and (2) a comfort level that is achieved when there is trust between teachers and students. Only when there is openness and trust in the classroom—which may be translated into rapport between and among teachers and students—would values education in the teaching of English flourish.

7 Practical Directions for Language Materials Development

In suggesting practical directions for the development of language materials in Singapore, we encourage language materials developers to read carefully the English Language Syllabus prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Developed by the Curriculum Planning and Development Division of the MOE, the EL Syllabus 2010 offers a detailed account of the guiding principles, areas of language learning and the role of the language teacher in English language education in Singapore's basic education curriculum. The syllabus, we believe, offers language materials developers much needed guidance in designing culturally sensitive and values-oriented materials for English language modules in primary as well as secondary schools.

The articulation of the underlying philosophy of language learning in the EL Syllabus 2010 already reflects the inevitability of values and moral education in the teaching of English language in basic education. The following are the assumptions and beliefs about language and language learning expressed in the syllabus:

- Language is a means of making meaning and of communication
- Language is a system with its own rules and conventions which can be used to create various discourse forms or types of texts
- Language learning involves cognitive and *affective engagement*, and interaction
- Language use is *guided by our awareness of the purpose, audience, context and culture* in which the communication takes place
- Learning English in a multilingual context is different from learning it in a monolingual or near-native context (EL Syllabus 2010, p. 8, emphasis added).

The recognition that language learning involves "affective engagement" and that language use is "guided by our awareness of the purpose, audience, context and culture in which the communication takes place" already suggests that values and morality are embedded in the teaching and learning of the English language. The idea that English is part of the "non-cultural curriculum" may no longer hold as the cultural contextual factors need to be considered when learners are taught to develop their receptive (listening, reading, viewing) and productive (speaking, writing, representing) skills as well as their knowledge about language (grammar and vocabulary). In fact, one of the principles of English language teaching and learning emphasized in the syllabus is "contextualization" which means, "learning tasks and activities will be designed for pupils to learn the language in authentic and meaningful contexts of use" (p. 11).

We believe that language materials developers need to be cognizant of these underlying beliefs and principles as they necessarily inform the selection of "a variety of print and non-print resources that provides authentic contexts for incorporating the development of information, media and visual literacy skills in the teaching of listening, reading, viewing, speaking, writing, and representing" (p. 9). Moreover, these underlying beliefs and principles need to be resurfaced in the rationale of the instructional materials to remind teachers of their mandate and to ensure that there is congruence between what is practiced in the classroom and what is upheld across the curriculum.

On a more practical level, we encourage the use of materials from other cultural contexts such as Divakaruni's *The Conch Bearer* to expose students to perspectives and values that may be different from theirs. Texts like that of Divakaruni enable students to reaffirm the values that they share with the characters and at the same time allow them to rethink values that they hold important as they begin to empathize with the characters. Materials from other cultural contexts also prepare students "to engage with the wider and more diverse communities outside of Singapore" (English Syllabus 2010, p. 6). Exposure to these materials that reflect different cultural values is undoubtedly important in a world that is increasingly becoming borderless and at the same time experiencing tension between those who benefit and those who suffer from the impact of globalization.

Materials taken from local newspapers like *The Straits Times* are also good choices for learning language "in authentic and meaningful contexts of use." Not only do they highlight the values that society puts premium on, but they also enable students to examine more closely why they matter. If the students show more openness to discuss issues arising from the texts and if a certain comfort level on the part of both teacher and students is achieved, the classroom discussion can move on to examine why certain values are adhered to in a particular social context and to discuss why they matter to some people or not to others. The text under analysis may be juxtaposed with alternative texts (print and non-print) that delve on a similar topic or theme but preferably from another time frame or cultural context. It might be useful and productive to select materials that espouse dominant values in society and those that tend to question or challenge such values. The controversy that this potentially invites may be seen as an opportunity to practice students' English language communication skills as students are encouraged to discuss, debate, take positions, reflect and write about what they think and feel about these values, and reconsider alternative ideas and possibilities. If facilitated well, the discussion may lead to cross-cultural understanding and sensitivity to the perspective of others, values that are necessary in the resolution of disputes and in fostering solidarity within and among communities.

Needless to say, materials should suggest ways for teachers to facilitate discussion of texts that invite affective engagement and that reaffirm or challenge existing values. As language teachers face the inevitable task of getting engaged in values education, it is to their best interest that they come to their classes prepared and equipped to take on the task. A useful and productive way of facilitating discussion of value-laden texts would be to adopt John Dewey's reflective thinking method. In adopting Dewey's reflective thinking method, the teacher may encourage students to formulate a problem based on the selected texts under investigation, define and delimit the scope of the problem, analyze the problem based on features of the texts and students prior knowledge, formulate standards through which solutions to the problem may examined, formulate alternative solutions, discuss the merits of these solutions based on the standards set, and decide on the best solution to the problem. The method offers a systematic approach to dealing with problems of values and at the same time develops students to become critical and reflective participants in group communication situations.

8 Conclusion

One of the implications of this study is that the inextricable link between language, culture, and texts means that one cannot teach texts without impinging on culture and values. To engage with text is to engage with these matters (Fairclough 2003). More important to note here is the use of such an engagement to generate students' views on pertinent values and to adopt an 'expressive' and not prescriptive stance in alignment with the stance adopted in the teaching of the language element.

Notwithstanding the implicit role of the English language materials developers and teachers in values education, it remains clear that the ELT practice in Singapore participates in the students' values formation. English language teachers are, to borrow the term from Johnston et al. (1998), moral agents. As moral agents, they carry the responsibility of using instructional materials to complement or emphasize what is taught in civic and moral education classes.

English language teachers in the Singapore context can exercise their option to discuss value-related topics especially when conditions such as openness and trust are present in the teaching-learning situation. Only with such conditions would it be possible for teachers to examine more closely the meaning potential of texts and perhaps discuss with greater audacity the values that surface from the narratives used as sample texts in the English language resource books. An open and trust-driven classroom would also enable teachers and students to interrogate these values further to ensure their relevance and appropriateness to the society in which they are supposedly practiced.

Even the use of the meta-cognitive approach in the teaching of English in the Singapore secondary school classroom is already an enactment of values education in ELT practice. That students are encouraged "to think about their thinking" suggests the need to develop among our students the values of reflexivity, audience sensitivity, and careful and judicious use of language in various communicative contexts. These are values that students of English arguably need not just to become the articulate and well-rounded individuals that we envision them to be, but also to adjust accordingly to the complexities of human relations and to see through the lens of the intended recipients of their well-crafted messages.

Finally, we would like to point out that while the textbook can serve as a veritable resource for reaffirming certain ideologies or ways of thinking about or viewing Singapore society and the world, the textbook remains just that—a resource. It definitely has meaning potentials—and these potentials when activated may be good for the society or actually dangerous—but it is the teacher working closely with her or his students that has the power to activate them. The teacher then has to be conscious of these meaning potentials and should exercise due care when seeking to critically engage them together with her or his students so that the values are not merely imposed but are realized in their proper contexts.

9 Notes

1. We believe that the textbooks, being shared by both students and teachers, serve as the primary materials for English language teaching in the secondary schools. We note that the teaching resource package (TRP), which provides teachers possibilities for emphasizing certain social values remains optional for the teachers. Teachers may or may not use the TRP for teaching. But the textbooks, being primary resources, compel the teacher to explore texts that may potentially serve as sites for values education.

2. Textbook writers provide English teachers options to discuss values-related topics should the teachers feel adequate to do so. These options can be found in the teaching resource package (TRP) that includes additional worksheets, rubrics, games, and other materials that would supplement actual textbooks. The TRP also includes teacher's guides with sidebar features that dwell on social emotional learning (personal grooming, supporting causes and helping communities), National Education moments (love of country, unique features of Singapore and its multicultural facets) and cyber-wellness (what websites to avoid and how to evaluate websites' credibility) among others. Teachers may or may not use these sidebar features. If a teacher opts to just focus on language skills development, that should be deemed sufficient.

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Analysing the Integration of Moral and Cultural Values through ELT Reading Materials in Malaysian ESL Classrooms

Gurnam Kaur Sidhu, Sarjit Kaur, and Chan Yuen Fook

Abstract This chapter presents the findings of an exploratory study, which examined the integration of moral and cultural values in ELT reading materials in ESL literature classrooms. The study employed a descriptive research design involving 35 TESL teachers, and data were collected using a questionnaire, interviews, and classroom observations. The findings revealed that the ELT materials used were suitable and had various elements of moral values and classroom observations indicated that teachers were successful in highlighting and integrating moral values from the ELT materials. Nevertheless, the understanding and incorporation of cultural awareness left much to be desired. These findings imply ESL teachers need to be better equipped to communicate the small 'c' (culture) in ELT materials.

Keywords Cultural values • ELT reading materials • ESL literature classrooms • Moral values

1 Introduction

In today's interconnected world, the English language is fast becoming an international language for communication, information, and commerce. Moreover, in today's techno savvy learning environments, English enables students to interact with a wider range of information sources that expose them to numerous cultures and identities. This calls for a need to re-visit the manner in which ESL students read texts for comprehension as well as for meaning making purposes. Within such a scenario, teachers need to reconsider the value of English Language Teaching

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(ELT hereafter) materials in situating moral and cultural values as they help develop in learners a sense of social and personal responsibility (Behrman 2006; Shaaban 2005). Resistance towards reading and literacy pedagogy is a traditional roadblock often experienced by many English as a Second Language (ESL hereafter) students in Malaysian schools. Despite years of research on inculcating such values through ELT materials in the Malaysian context, resistance towards implementing practical ways to promote such attitudes among ESL teachers and learners still persists. If this is not checked, it may very well perpetuate generations of students who do not see the value of sensitising cultural and moral values in their future decision making processes. Students can be taught explicit ways to decipher the author's message and intent accurately in the ESL classroom by applying cultural and moral norms familiar to them.

Discussions on the importance of effective instruction in ESL classrooms indicate that the relationship between language and culture is deeply rooted, and language can be used as a tool to maintain and convey culture and cultural ties (Leveridge 2008; Saniei 2012). The inculcation of moral and cultural values in learners can help them become informed, concerned, responsible, caring citizens who understand and believe in the concepts of "justice, fairness and human welfare" (Nucci 1987, p. 86). While the term 'culture' in itself is problematic to define, there is general consensus that culture encompasses the beliefs and practices governing the life of a society for which a particular language is the vehicle of expression. Within this paradigm, teachers and students function in a social medium where meaning is open to negotiation based on mutually agreeable cultural and moral values of that community of learning. Consequently, teachers of a language are also teachers of culture (Byram 1993). In a similar vein, Seelye (1997) and Cummins (2000) feel that language teachers can play an important role in educating their ESL learners to acquire intercultural communication skills as this aspect is given prominence in today's language education. The implications of language being completely interconnected in culture (in regards to language teaching and language policy) and moral values are far reaching. Teachers have a role to play in using appropriate ELT materials, choosing culturally appropriate teaching styles and exploring culturally based linguistic differences to promote understanding among their students.

2 Literature Review

Language is closely linked to culture, and our beliefs and attitudes to life are shaped by our culture and readings that have influenced us. Therefore, developing moral and cultural awareness in language classrooms requires teachers to focus on continually developing learners' awareness of their culture as well as other cultures. It involves learning about traditional beliefs, customs, culturally-related words, and other related norms. In addition, it requires learners to evaluate the importance of seeing both positive and negative aspects of culture and show ability to find things

in common rather than focus on differences. Due to this, cultural awareness becomes a focal point during interaction between people who come from different cultures. Since language and culture are interconnected in social life, the responsibility rests with the language teacher to promote cultural awareness as mediated through language when using ELT materials. ESL teachers are expected to enhance learners' cultural awareness and improve their communication competence (Gao 2006). Indeed, such a task appears formidable for most teachers seeing that they are expected to teach the "actualization of meaning potential associated with particular situation types" (Halliday 1978, p. 109). Accordingly, Campos (2009) claims that the integration of culture in ELT materials is actually often overlooked in language classrooms due to the following factors:

- the assumption that language alone is enough to communicate successfully
- the lack of resources that addresses culturally relevant and appropriate issues
- the lack of opportunities for teachers to receive training related to cultural awareness; and
- the apparent feeling that there is no need to explore cultural matters.

Additionally, teachers also tend to avoid integrating cultural awareness because they do not have adequate cultural knowledge about the target language. Ho (2009) claims the development of cultural awareness in English language classes may be influenced by a number of constraints; that is, the teachers' cultural knowledge and the availability of native English speakers, time allowance for culture teaching in each lesson or even the system of education itself. Meanwhile, Sidhu et al. (2010) highlight that exam-oriented teaching and time constraints inhibit teachers to integrate cultural awareness when they teach language and literature.

Moran (2001, pp. 15–18) suggests that the description of the culture and the treatment of cultural content in ELT materials should include "analysis as well as comparison and contrast between the two cultures." In discussing ELT materials, ESL instructors also need to "help learners establish a relationship between their own and other systems" (Mckay 2002, p. 83). This 'perspective consciousness' according to Kramsch (1993, pp. 205–206) is the "precondition for successful intercultural communication as well as understanding of other cultures." More importantly, moral and cultural values in ELT materials should be presented in a non-judgmental fashion. This means that no values or judgments should be placed when making distinctions between the students' native culture and the culture explored in the ESL classroom. Kramsch (1993) introduced the concept of 'third culture,' a reference to the neutral space that ESL or English as a Foreign Language (EFL hereafter) learners can create and use to explore and reflect on their own and the target culture and language. To this, Byram (1993) added that it is important to establish a series of criteria that can clarify cultural nuances, and he recommended the following aspects:

- *Social identity and social groups* – social class, regional identity, ethnic minorities
- *Social interaction* – different levels of formality; as an outsider and an insider

- *Belief and behavior* – moral, religious beliefs; daily routines
- *Social and political institutions* – state institutions, health care, law and order, social security, local government
- *National history* – historical and contemporary events seen as markers of national identity
- *National geography* – geographical factors seen as being significant by members
- *Stereotypes and national identity* – what is "typical", symbols of national stereotypes (Byram; cited in Skopinskaja 2003, p. 45)

Cummins (2000) proposed a framework for transformative pedagogy that can be used for incorporating moral and cultural values in ESL learners. His model is intended to provide a broad guide to the implementation of any moral programme in ESL contexts. Essentially, the model consists of the following five parts: message, language skills, methods, outcomes, activities, resources, and assessment. The proposed framework in shown in Table 1 below:

This framework aims to develop students' linguistic and cognitive development as well as encourage the growth of their character. For the message component, ESL teachers can use a variety of topics (literature, social studies, the internet) to generate issues presented in the form of texts or debates. The methodology suggested in implementing this framework centres around creating an active learning environment in the classroom (intensive student participation and interaction, respect for students, open discussion, positive reinforcement). The framework aims at creating lifelong learners who can deal with issues and moral dilemmas they might face in the future as well as develop their critical thinking skills. Teachers can make use of myriad resources from literature and history in their classrooms (e.g., fairy tales in the primary grades; Shakespeare's plays, world literature and Dicken's novels for students in higher grades). The inclusion of history texts gives students the chance to reflect on and appreciate history as a record of social, political, religious, and economic achievements. A wide range of classroom activities are suggested in this framework, ranging from identification, simulation, viewing, guest presentations from outside resource persons, and mini research projects. The assessment component of the framework requires teachers to use valid, reliable, and practical measurements to evaluate students' cognitive, linguistic, and character development.

The literature on incorporating moral and cultural education in language classes shows variation in attitudes towards the subject (Shaaban 2005). We find acceptance of adopting transformative pedagogy on one hand and the call for giving freedom to learners to think and decide for themselves on the other hand. Brown (1994, p. 23) advocates a middle ground between these two positions that "allows us to assume our responsibilities as agents of change, while at the same time respecting the autonomy of the learner." The framework suggested in Table 1 above identifies with Brown's (1994) stand as it emphasizes on creating students who "possess the basic moral virtues of honesty, respect for others, care for the environment, responsibility and integrity, but who at the same time are capable of critical thinking and making

Table 1 A proposed framework for incorporating moral education into ESL classrooms

Message	Language skills	Methods	Outcomes	Activities	Resources	Assessment
Respect for self and others	Forms and uses	Cooperative learning	Critical thinking	Activation	Fairy tales	Self assessment
	Comprehension			Simulation	Literature	Journals
Cultural appreciation	Critical analysis	Problem solving	Learner autonomy	Discussions	Art	Logs
Lack of prejudice	Writing Skills	Dialogue	Involvement	Presentations	History	Debates
Appropriate values and attitudes	Oral communication	Modelling	Intercultural interaction	Mini research	Internet	Observations

informed decisions after considering all sides of an issue without being prejudiced against those whose views differ from theirs" (Shaaban 2005, p. 214).

In aligning the discussion on how teachers can incorporate moral and cultural values into ELT materials, Gallagher (2004, p. 216) reminds teachers that "there is a big difference between assigning students difficult reading and teaching them how to read deeply." Hence, ESL teachers cannot merely hand out ELT materials (often laden with moral and cultural values) to students and expect comprehension to take place based on what they have learned about reading at their primary level. They need to guide their students by structuring questions regarding texts orally rather than in written form in order to maintain their interest and motivation. As a result, many linguists suggest that there is a need for ESL teachers to pose the right kind of questions to their students if they wish to instill awareness of moral and cultural values in the range of ELT materials used in the classroom. Vethamani (2007) highlights that strategies used for questioning are the key to unlocking the agenda of the text. The questions can be rephrased in a less sophisticated manner so that it does not intimidate learners. At the same time, teachers also need to bear in mind the background knowledge of learners. They need to work hand in hand with students and go through the entire process of incorporating moral and cultural values when reading texts so that they can successfully negotiate academic tasks in high school, college, university and beyond and function as responsible citizens of a functionally literate society. As such, the role of the teacher is not merely that of an information dispenser but one who works in a collaborative manner.

3 The Study

Malaysia is a multi-racial and multilingual country where English is taught as a compulsory second language in all public schools. When this study was conducted, the English language syllabus postulated an integrated approach where the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) were integrated with the teaching of grammar, vocabulary, and the sound system. The integration of good moral values and citizenship is also clearly spelled out, but the issue of culture is not explicitly articulated. Furthermore, the predominant ELT materials in the Malaysian ESL classroom are a designated textbook assigned by the Malaysian Ministry of Education. Alongside the textbook, students also have a reading text for the literature in the ESL classroom programme. Under the literature in language classroom (small 'l') programme, students are required to read and understand poems, short stories, plays, and abridged novels. Even though classroom textbooks follow the nation's stipulated syllabus and provide structure and graded content to both teachers and students alike, it cannot be denied that there are topics/reading materials that expose students to different (e.g. Anglo or Eurocentric) ideologies, cultures, and values.

This exploratory study examined the integration of moral and cultural values in ELT reading materials currently used in the Malaysian ESL classroom. It adopted a

descriptive research design, and data were collected using a questionnaire, interviews, and classroom observations. To avoid researcher's paradox, the observations and interviews were conducted before the questionnaires were administered to the respondents.

The respondents for this study comprised 35 TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) teachers from six secondary schools located in the states of Selangor, Penang, and Kelantan. These three states are located in Peninsular Malaysia. All the respondents were volunteers who were currently pursuing their Masters in Education (TESL) on a part-time basis in two local universities where the researchers are currently teaching.

The questionnaire allowed the researchers to examine the teachers' knowledge and practices in integrating moral and cultural values using ELT reading materials. It was constructed based on readings from literature and studies carried out by researchers such as Bryam (1993) and Tomalin and Stempleski (1993). The reliability of the questionnaire was established via a pilot study comprising 30 ESL teachers undergoing a full-time M.Ed (TESL) programme in a local public university. The results indicated a Cronbach's coefficient alpha score of .788 indicating an acceptable internal consistency of constructs in the questionnaire (Fairchild 2003). All the 35 respondents who volunteered for this study completed the questionnaire which was administered at a training workshop after all observations and interviews had been conducted.

In each of the three states, the researchers observed two teachers – one teaching the lower secondary level and the other teaching the upper secondary level. Therefore, a total of six teachers were observed and interviewed for the study. The six teachers observed and interviewed for this study are referred to SR1 and SR2 (teachers in Selangor) KR1 and KR2 (teachers in Kelantan) and PR1 and PR2 (teachers in Penang). Respondents SR1, KR1, and PR1 taught the lower secondary levels (Secondary One, Two, and Three) where learners are between the ages of 12–14. On the other hand, Respondents SR2, KR2, and PR2 taught at upper secondary levels (Secondary Four and Five) where learners are between the ages of 15 and 17. The semi structured interviews were conducted with the teachers after the second observation. Interviews were conducted to explore their understanding, knowledge, and practices on how they situated moral and cultural values in ELT reading materials. The 12 classroom observations (2 per teacher) were conducted to examine their instructional practices in integrating moral and cultural values using ELT reading materials. Descriptive statistics using mean scores, frequencies, and standard deviation were used to analyze the quantitative data from the questionnaire while interview data and observations were inductively and deductively analyzed based on research questions posed in the study.

The ELT materials in this study focused only on reading materials used by students under the literature programme. By the end of Secondary Five, Malaysian ESL students studying in public schools would have read ten poems, four short stories, two plays, and three novels of which one is a graphic novel. A cursory analysis of the ELT materials indicates that the students are exposed to both local and foreign literary texts giving opportunities to both teachers and students alike to

situate and discuss moral and cultural values. Once a week, the ESL teachers help students read and discuss the stipulated ELT literary texts. Henceforth, this study was guided by the following research questions:

- What are the teachers' opinions of the ELT reading materials used in the ESL literature classroom?
- How successful are teachers in using ELT reading materials to incorporate moral and cultural values into their ESL literature classroom?
- What challenges do teachers face in integrating moral and cultural values when using ELT reading materials in their ESL literature classroom?

4 Findings

Section A of the questionnaire examined the demographic profile of the respondents. All the 35 teachers in the study were TESL trained teachers and had been teaching ESL in Malaysian public schools between 7 and 20 years. The sections below discuss the main findings of the study.

4.1 Teachers' Perceptions of ELT Reading Materials

Section B of the questionnaire investigated the 35 teachers' perceptions of the suitability of ELT reading materials. The participants were required to respond to items based on a 5-point Likert scale. The results revealed that the respondents found the ELT reading materials moderately suitable for the age of their students (mean = 3.28), gender (mean = 2.98), social class (mean = 3.05), and maturity (mean = 3.17). The teachers were also in agreement that the ELT materials provided were generally suitable in terms of moral values (mean = 4.55) and cultural values (mean = 3.23). Interview sessions corroborated these findings. All six respondents agreed that the ELT materials were generally suitable. Respondents SR1, SR2, and PR2 who were teaching urban schools felt the ELT materials were suitable and of interest to their students. Respondent PR2 stressed that the cultural content in the current ELT reading materials were suitable to include both moral and cultural values as they contained "universal values and beliefs that cut across all cultures." To this, Respondent KR2 added that "values such as love, loyalty, patriotism, compassion, as well as beliefs related to doppelganger and the supernatural" were also aspects that Malaysian students could relate to.

Nevertheless, the respondents also reported that the characters (mean = 4.29) and issues (mean = 4.64) presented represented the foreign society and global concerns respectively to a high extent. Respondents PR2 and SR2 felt that even though some of the ELT materials were based on foreign settings and displayed foreign cultural values, they considered them suitable as it would provide teachers the "opportunity

to make the students aware of foreign and target language culture" (Respondent SR2). Respondent SR2, a teacher from Selangor, highlighted that many of her students "have rather negative perceptions about other races and cultures." Therefore, she welcomed ELT materials such as novels with a foreign setting in the target language as it helped make students become more aware of conventional behavior in common situations in the target culture.

Respondents KR1 and SR1, however, begged to differ. Both of them felt that ELT reading materials should contain more local elements and contexts so that students' interest could be maintained. The findings also revealed that more than half the respondents felt that the ELT reading texts were not of great interest (mean = 2.23) as they were not within the historical and geographical knowledge of their students (mean = 2.19). These findings were also expressed by some teachers in the interview sessions. Respondent KR1 reported that students with limited proficiency "had to cope not only with the language but also the foreign settings and culture of the target language." Henceforth, many of her students had "little or no interest in learning English." Respondents KR1 and PR1, however, felt that their students found it rather difficult to relate to texts with foreign settings as it was beyond their historical and geographical knowledge. Thus, they felt that a majority of their students could be classified as 'reluctant' readers of English. Respondent SR1 who was teaching in a rural Malay school also conceded that getting her students to read ELT materials with foreign settings was a challenge as a majority of her students possessed limited English language proficiency.

Interview sessions also revealed that five out of the six respondents contended that the ELT reading materials used in the ESL classroom should include both home culture and target culture. Respondent KR1 pointed out that ELT materials with home culture facilitated learning a second language. The others recounted that reading ELT materials with target culture help student develop a cultural awareness of the target language.

4.2 Teachers' Success in Using ELT Materials to Integrate Moral and Cultural Values

Section C of the questionnaire explored teachers' instructional practices in integrating moral and cultural values using ELT reading materials. Overall the findings (Table 2) revealed that teachers were more successful in integrating moral values in contrast to cultural values. These findings were further corroborated during classroom observations and interviews.

Results displayed in Table 2 below show that respondents highlighted moral lessons (m = 4.79), increased students' awareness of universal values (m = 4.23) and where possible emphasized norms and standards on universal moral values (m = 3.97). Similar findings were also obtained during interview sessions and classroom observations. All the six participants agreed that the ELT materials were

Table 2 Instructional practices in integrating moral and cultural values (n = 35)

Sect. C	Rate your success in using ELT reading materials, to …	Mean	SD
1	Highlight moral lessons that can be learnt	4.89	.892
2	Increase students' awareness of universal moral values	4.23	.887
3	Emphasize norms and standards of human behaviour	3.97	.748
4	Help develop students' empathy towards people in target language	3.37	.789
5	Make students tolerant of cultural influences affecting their and others' behavior	3.00	.723
6	Help students to develop an understanding that all people exhibit culturally conditioned behaviors	2.90	.759
7	Make students become more aware of conventional behavior in common situations in the target culture	2.90	.854
8	Make the study of cultural behaviors an integral part of each literature lesson	2.37	.758
9	Increase students' awareness of the cultural connotations of words and phrases in the target language	2.13	.842
10	Stimulate students' intellectual curiosity about target culture	2.03	.715

Scale: *1* Not successful, *3* fairly successful, *5* very successful

replete with moral lessons that were universal. Respondent PR1, teaching Secondary Three ESL students highlighted that the poem, *Fighter's Lines* by Marzuki Ali (a local writer), helped her instill moral values such as patriotism, courage, and unity among her students. On the other hand, Respondent PR2 pointed out that the poem *Nature* was written by a Jamaican (H. D. Carberry), but all her students could relate to the moral values depicted – i.e. to be appreciative of what we have and to appreciate the environment.

With regards to integrating cultural awareness, the respondents indicated that they were more successful in developing students' empathy towards people in the target language (m = 3.37) and making students tolerant of cultural influences affecting their and others' behavior (mean = 3.00) as compared to other aspects such as helping students to develop an understanding that all people exhibit culturally conditioned behaviors (m = 2.90) and making students become more aware of conventional behavior in common situations in the target culture (m = 2.90). Results also revealed that teachers were not very successful in making the study of cultural behaviors an integral part of each literature lesson (m = 2.37) and stimulate students' intellectual curiosity about target culture (m = 2.03).

The above results were also confirmed during the interview sessions. For instance, Respondent PR2 felt she was successful in developing her students' empathy towards people in the target language. She asserted that when teaching the drama *Gulp and Gasp* by John Townsend, her students were able to express the pain they felt for the main characters, Rose and Percy, who were oppressed by Lord Septic because they were poor. This view was also shared by Respondent SR2. She highlighted that when she taught the short story *Fruitcake Special* by Frank Brennan to her Secondary Four ESL students, they were able to not only empathize with the

protagonist Anna but could also relate to Aunt Mimi's concern in finding a match so that Anna could get married.

All six respondents also reported that they did not focus on instilling cultural awareness and cultural values as these aspects were not tested items in major public examinations. This was succinctly put across by SR1 who had this to say:

> *. . .in our exam-oriented schools, teachers will only focus on aspects tested in the examinations. Yes, moral values are commonly stressed in our curriculum so all teachers will make it a conscious point to draw students' attention to moral values in all ELT materials. But where culture and cultural awareness is concerned – I know that are lots of cultural aspects and elements we can explore in the ELT reading texts but a majority of the teachers will not even talk or mention it as it is not a tested component. That is why many teachers do not integrate cultural values. In fact, honestly I seldom do that in my classroom . . .*

Section D of the questionnaire explored the respondents' ability and confidence in clarifying moral and cultural nuances when using ELT materials in the literature classroom. This section of the questionnaire was based on Byram's criteria. From the results presented in Table 3, it can be seen that a majority of the respondents expressed that they were only fairly confident and successful in their ability to make students aware of the following dimensions: social identity and social groups (mean = 3.67), social interactions (mean = 3.370), and beliefs and behavior (mean = 3.21). They, however, admitted that they experienced limited success in discussing cultural nuances such as social and political institutions (mean = 2.59), national history (mean = 2.34), national geography (mean = 2.27), and stereotypes and national identity (mean = 2.43).

During the interviews, a majority of the respondents pinpointed that they often discussed aspects such as social identity, social groups, and social interaction. They felt their students could relate to such issues. For instance, Respondent SR2 from Selangor highlighted that when she was teaching the drama *Gulp and Gasp* to her

Table 3 Respondents' views on addressing moral and cultural values in ELT materials (n = 35)

Section D	*When using ELT texts how successful are you in discussing and making your students aware of the following cultural nuances…*	Mean	SD
1	***Social identity and social groups –*** social class, regional identity and ethnic minorities	3.34	0.727
2	***Social interaction*** – different levels of formality; as an outsider and an insider in society	3.25	0.752
3	***Belief and Behavior*** – moral, religious beliefs; daily routines	3.21	0.825
4	***Social and political institutions*** – state institutions, health care, law and order, social security, local government in both local and global	2.41	0.823
5	***National history*** – historical and contemporary events seen as markers of national / foreign identity	2.34	0.765
6	***National geography*** – geographical factors seen as being significant by members	2.25	0.829
7	***Stereotypes and national identity –*** what "typical", symbols of national stereotypes	2.15	0.655

Scale: *1* very limited success, *2* limited success, *3* fairly successful, *4* successful, *5* very successful

Form Four students, the social class issue that existed between Lord Septic and his servant Crouch and the blind girl Rose was something she discussed and got her students talking with interest. She was able to relate to the caste system practiced in India and some of her Chinese students were also able to talk about similar situations in China when their parents were there some 50–60 odd years ago. Nevertheless, others like Respondents KR1, KR2, and PR2 reported that political institutions and aspects related to history and geography were 'beyond the grasp' of many of their students. Respondent PR1 further emphasized that aspects such as "history, geography and national identity are not tested in examinations so teachers do not discuss these aspects in detail."

It is interesting to point out that all the six teachers observed were able to successfully integrate moral values in all their lessons. In fact, the integration of moral values using ELT materials was observed in all the 12 classroom observations. For instance, Respondent PR2 was observed teaching the short story 'QWERTYUIOP' to her Secondary Four students. She was able to draw her students' attention to the moral values such as compassion and kindness displayed by Lucy Beck (the protagonist) towards her predecessor, Miss Broome. Likewise, Respondent KR2 was also very successful in getting her students to identify the moral values of responsibility and consideration when using the poem *Are you Still Playing Your Flute* by Zurinah Hassan, a Malaysian poet.

At this juncture, it is perhaps pertinent to stress that the question of the researcher's paradox did not occur here as teachers were not informed of what aspects the researchers' were investigating in the ESL classrooms. Furthermore, the Curriculum Development Department, Ministry of Education, Malaysia often puts emphasis on the incorporation of moral values across all disciplines of study. Therefore, it is a common practice for all public school teachers to consciously make their students aware of moral values depicted in texts and all contexts of study in the curriculum.

On the other hand, the use of ELT materials to promote cultural values and cultural awareness among ESL learners left much to be desired. Out of the 12 classroom observations, integration of cultural awareness and values were observed in only four lessons (33.3%). This was observed in the ESL literature classrooms of Respondents PR2, KR2, and SR2. All three teachers were teaching urban upper secondary classes. Given below are some instances where teachers made some attempt to integrate cultural values.

Respondent SR2 discussing an ELT foreign novel (*Catch Us If You Can* by Catherine MacPhail) with her Secondary Five ESL classroom was observed spending a good 10 minutes helping her students to develop a cultural understanding that in the West it was fine to call people by their first name and for a lady to drink wine. Drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages among all Muslims is a taboo. Hence, she used the issue in the book to compare and contrast English and Muslim cultural values. Respondent KR2 pointed out that her students from Kelantan did not have much exposure towards other cultures since a majority of her Kelantanese students are only familiar with the Malay culture. When she was discussing the novel *Catch Us If You Can,* some of her students pointed out that only ungrateful sons and

daughters left their aged family members in old folk homes. Respondent KR2 took some time to make her students culturally aware that in western countries, sending the aged to nursing homes was a norm. Culturally, this is not a practice in Asia, particularly among the Malays. Nevertheless, Respondent KR2 used the issue in the ELT reading text to help expose students to the target culture. During the interview, she said she welcomed the use of foreign setting ELT reading materials in her classroom even though her students possessed limited language proficiency as it helped her student "develop a better cultural understanding of people around the world."

On the other hand, classroom observations of Respondents KR1, SR1, and PR1 revealed that they made no attempt to use ELT reading materials to integrate cultural values or create any form of cultural awareness among their students. Nevertheless, they were successful in integrating moral values. However, an interesting point was raised by Respondent PR1 during the interview session. She said that ELT materials did help increase students' awareness of the cultural connotations of words and phrases in the target culture as some of her students were able to relate the word 'spinning' to western fairy tales, like *Sleeping Beauty*, and *Rumpelstiltskin,* a drama in the current literature component. Her students were able to relate women who were good in spinning as 'special,' just like Lisa in *Rumpelstiltskin.*

Classroom observations also indicated that there were many opportunities where teachers could have integrated cultural values in the ELT materials used but chose not to do so. Given below is one such instance: Respondent PR1 in discussing the setting of the play '*Rumplestiltskin*' only asked simple surface level questions such as*: Where does the king live? (palace); Where do Lisa and her parents live? (cottage); and Where did the King lock Lisa?(tower*). This was a situation where PR1 could have helped her students to develop cultural awareness by critically exploring the western setting of the play from a historic and geographical perspective, but she chose to ignore this element. In another instance, a student in Respondent KR1's classroom made the claim that "only non-Muslims drink alcohol" and another student added "all people who drink alcohol are bad – they go to hell." This was an excellent opportunity for the teacher to educate her students on cultural awareness and caution them not to stereotype non-Muslims and people who drink as 'bad' based on their own religious beliefs (in this case Muslims). Instead, the teacher chose to ignore the statements and let them pass. Such instances revealed that the cultural awareness and cultural competence took a backseat in most of the classrooms. Teachers seemed to rush through the syllabus and did not spend sufficient time to explore the holistic cultural experience.

4.3 Challenges Faced by Teachers in Using ELT Materials

Another aspect examined during the interview sessions were the challenges faced by the teachers in using ELT materials in integrating moral and cultural values. All six respondents reported that students' limited English language proficiency in understanding ELT texts was the main challenge they faced. Respondents KR1 and

SR2 pointed out that that because of this limited proficiency, many teachers opted to spend more time working on linguistic aspects rather than integrating moral and cultural values. In addition, four respondents (KR1, KR2, SR1, and PR1) felt that students' interest and attitude towards learning English was also a stumbling block, and they found it difficult having to deal with ELT materials with a foreign context.

Respondents also highlighted a lack of cultural knowledge was a barrier that hampered them from integrating cultural awareness prevalent in ELT materials. They further added that training sessions provided by the ministry at the national and school levels highlighted the infusion of moral values, but the aspect of cultural awareness and cultural values were often neglected. As a result, teachers felt they were not required to discuss cultural issues when exploring ELT materials. Due to this, teachers lacked confidence in integrating cultural values, and felt they were rather 'cautions' when discussing cultural aspects. Furthermore, Respondents SR1, SR2, and PR2 recognized that culture is a 'sensitive topic,' and they were afraid they might touch on 'cultural sensitivities' since Malaysia is a multi-racial country.

All the respondents recounted that they did not highlight cultural values because the syllabus did not require them to do so. More importantly, it was not a 'tested' component in major examinations, so many teachers chose to ignore this element. Nevertheless, they all agreed that ELT reading materials used in their ESL classroom provided them with opportunities to discuss cultural values.

Two respondents (KR1 and PR1) maintained that the ELT reading texts were rather biased towards the western culture. Respondent KR1 recommended that ELT materials "especially for English should focus more on local settings and context." She added that foreign based contexts hindered students' interest and comprehension." Respondent PR1 had this to say:

> *I find it difficult to discuss cultural values as many of my students are Malays. They cannot understand and relate to the western values depicted in the literature tests. Let me give you an example – the novel that the students are reading relate to the western culture of drinking alcohol. For the Malays especially being Muslims they cannot drink alcohol. So such texts 'disturb' them and some do not like reading these texts.*

Nevertheless, Respondents SR2 and PR2 begged to differ. SR2 stressed that ELT materials (both local and western) help expose students to a variety of values, and western ELT materials were a "tool for promoting intercultural understanding in today's global village."

5 Conclusion

Peterson and Coltrane (2003) note that most ELT materials, especially literary texts, have abundant cultural information that can evoke memorable moral and cultural values and reactions for readers. The teachers in this study also affirmed that ELT materials used in their ESL classrooms were replete with a good mix of local and western moral and cultural values. Findings of this study also indicated that teachers

were very successful in using ELT materials to situate moral values. Nevertheless, the integration of cultural values took a backseat as teachers were quite inexperienced in handling cultural values embedded in ELT materials. Therefore, there is a need for teachers to develop a sensitivity to what it means for their ESL learners to enter a new or foreign native culture and compare and contrast it with their own set of values, customs, and assumptions so that they have a better understanding of other communities and ethnic groups in the world.

Peterson and Coltrane (2003) emphasise that that in the USA, cultural knowledge is one of the five goal areas of the national standards, and they contend that foreign language teachers should incorporate the study of culture into their classroom. This is perhaps a useful point of reference for the Malaysian Ministry of Education because integrating cultural awareness is important in a multi-racial country like Malaysia. Students should be exposed to local culture content so that they can enhance their local and regional culture identities and value systems while learning the language. To this, McLaughlin and DeVoogd (2004, p. 62) posit that it is important to expose learners to a variety of reading texts as it helps them develop "multiple perspectives and become active thinkers who comprehend from a critical stance." Rowsell et al. (2007) further highlighted that culture should not be viewed as a 'discrete' or 'bounded' entity and called for teacher education programmes to do a better job of bridging the divide between theory and practice. In helping students communicate effectively and appropriately in today's globalised classrooms, teachers should be well trained so that they can provide information about the small 'c' (e.g., culture) in ELT materials. Failing to do this, they may become a 'fluent fool' – e.g., one who speaks the language well but does not understand the social and philosophical content (Brown 1994).

Appendix

The following were the literature texts used in the classes observed in this study.

Secondary Two (ESL Learners aged 13–14)
Drama: *Rumpelstiltskin* by Angela Lanyon

Secondary Three (ESL Learners aged 14–15)
Poem: *Fighter's Lines* by Marzuki Ali (Malaysian Poet)

Secondary Four (ESL Learners aged 15–16)
Drama: G*ulp and Gasp* by John Townsend
Short Story: *Fruitcake Special* by Frank Brennan
Short Story: *QWERTYUIOP* by Vivian Alcock

Secondary Five (ESL Learners aged 16–17)
Poem: *Nature* by H.D. Carberry (Jamaican poet)
Poem: *Are you Still Playing Your Flute* by Zurinah Hassan (Malaysian poet)
Novel: *Catch Us If You Can* by Catherine MacPhail

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A Sociocultural Analysis of Cambodian Teachers' Cognitions about Cultural Contents in an 'Internationally Imported' Textbook in a Tertiary English Learning Context

Sovannarith Lim and Chan Narith Keuk

Abstract The ASEAN economic community shapes the status of English not only for Cambodia but also for the whole region, pragmatically making it a lingua franca, bringing to the attention of ELT practitioners the role of (multi)cultural knowledge and communication. Premised on this position, our study sought to explore how a group of Cambodian teachers of English in a tertiary context conceptualised the language and how their conceptualisations were intertwined with their approaches to teaching, giving rise to—or otherwise—promoting cultural knowledge through their uses of 'internationally imported' textbooks. Our analysis of the teachers' interviews and documents framed within a sociocultural approach to learning (Vygotsky, LS, Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes. In: Cole M, John-Steiner V, Scribner S, Souberman E (eds). Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1978; Wertsch JV, Voices of the mind. A sociocultural approach to mediated action. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1985) showed that the received status of English as a foreign language was upheld by the teachers who defined their teaching goals strictly related to enhancing the students' test-taking performance and linguistic competence while the teachers consciously decided to ignore the cultural contents contained in the textbooks they used. The teachers' decision to do so also stemmed from their reported limited knowledge about the 'target language' culture itself. To capture the complexity of the teachers' cognitions about cultural aspects and their conceptions of (the status of) English in their practice, we interpret our findings within the sociocultural and socio-political situations of the present study's context. For practical reasons, based on our findings, we contend that ELT materials should contain cultural values that are situated—but which require changing practitioners' conceptualisation of the evolving status of English in their own context.

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1 Introduction

As English language communications abound all over the world, concerns intensify around (inter)cultural competence in today's multilingual communication. In the last few decades, we have seen debates on how the English language should be taught and learnt in non-native English speaker (NNES) environments. One of the discussion domains deals with how English language teaching (ELT) materials could be developed to help enhance the seemingly much needed (inter)cultural competence to be found on the part of the English learners. To tailor to the demand for high cultural and linguistic competence in the NNES countries such as Cambodia, a particular focus is directed to the contents of ELT materials and how they are realised by their users, particularly the teachers themselves. For the former focus, questions are raised as to whether ELT materials should contain cultural and moral aspects, and if they should, are they those of the native English speaker (NES) or those of the NNES? For the latter, on the other hand, the questions are directed towards how the teachers make their decisions to tackle the cultural contents represented in the textbooks they use for their ELT classroom.

These questions essentially presuppose the roles of culture or cultural aspects in language education. However, as is shown below, this issue appears contentious amongst scholars, researchers, and teachers alike. For instance, for some, NNES learners should learn the language so that they can use it to express their own culture, continuing to carry their own morality (Modiano 2001), a concept taken up in this chapter to be subsumed within the concept of culture (see below). This position promotes the role of learner cultures in language learning. For others, however, it is essential that language learners learn the target language cultural and moral values for them to communicate effectively in that language. This position elevates the role of the NES cultures (See for example Hall, 2011, for a discussion on this issue). More specific to the current chapter, within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) framework, Kirkpatrick (2010b, 2011) argues for the adoption of a multilingual model for language classrooms in multicultural and multilingual countries such as ASEAN countries or the ASEAN region itself that will use English as the official language of communication (ASEAN 2008). This proposal entails the incorporation of the local NNES cultural and moral values (including the "Englishes" used in this region) into the ELT materials, effectively (however implicit) devaluing the culture of the so-called 'native speaker.' This multicultural and multilingual position advocates the promotion of the learner cultures and those of the NNES that form the socio-political environments for the local contexts within which the acts of teaching, learning, and using the language take place. This is a position we adopted in the conduct of our study. Premising on the current status of English for ASEAN, we aim to investigate how a group of practising Cambodian teachers of English

perceived its status for their working context and how such perceptions interrelated with their decisions to embody, or otherwise, the practice of cultural education. Our overall aim is to raise the awareness of all concerned ELT stakeholders in the Cambodian tertiary context about the evolving status of English in the country and the region and how such a sociolinguistic and sociocultural change could affect the local practice of ELT and subsequently its socioeconomic growth. We prioritise the tertiary context because, despite its more immediate relationships (compared to the primary and secondary contexts) to the socioeconomic growth, little research in this domain has ever been conducted.

We approached the issues of cultural education in the present context from a sociocultural theoretical perspective of learning (Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985), which emphasises that learning, or in this case teachers' cognitions, is essentially shaped by the social, historical and cultural contexts of their work and lives. Consequently, we need to problematise the (practice of) ELT in contemporary Cambodian tertiary educational contexts as it, through classroom textbook materials, continues to adopt the NES model (discussed below)—a practice that we put forth as going against the emerging socio-political and sociolinguistic situations in the country and the ASEAN region as a whole. Following this problematisation, we report on a group of Cambodian teachers' experiences and difficulties that they reported they had encountered, dealing with cultural contents embedded in their teaching materials. We discuss our findings in relation to the current sociocultural contexts of Cambodia and ASEAN by juxtaposing teachers' conceptions of the status of English with their cognitions about cultural education in their teaching situations.

2 Problematising the ELT in Cambodian Tertiary Education

In Cambodia, at least in its tertiary educational systems, it is observed that the main materials used in ELT classrooms are the so-called 'internationally imported' textbooks such as the *Progressive Skills in English Series* by Garnet Education and the *New Headway Series* by Oxford University Press. These textbooks are generally known to have been developed by NES authors and publishers and, to a considerable extent, contain the NES cultural values, the type of textbooks that Gray (2000) refers to as cultural artefacts. In this chapter, this type of materials is referred to as the 'NES materials.' To fully account for the popularity of this type of textbook in Cambodia, one needs to trace its historical development,[1] a task that cannot be accomplished here given the space economy. Nevertheless, a brief sketch of such a history can be provided.

English language education in Cambodia has grown remarkably in the last few decades since it was re-established in the late 1980s. At its commencement, English language education was managed with poor conditions in terms of human, material, and financial resources. The Cambodian teachers who had a previous English learning background, despite their lack of pedagogical training, taught those who did not know English at all (Keuk 2009; Neau 2003; Pit and Roth 2003). The selection of the textbooks for instruction was based on individual teachers' preferences

and textbook availability, the latter being the NES materials. This ELT practice was characterised as "not standardized" (Neau 2003, p. 264).

The Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MOEYS) and other international aid projects or agencies, such as the Quaker Service Australia (QSA), Canberra/International Development Program (IDP) of Australia, Cambodian Secondary English Teaching Project (CAMSET) sponsored by the British government, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) program have endeavoured to improve the ELT situations in Cambodia through teacher training programs and ELT materials development in the country. Certain Cambodian ELT materials, for example the *English for Cambodia Series* by the CAMSET project, were developed in such a way as to incorporate both the local and the NES cultural values into the lesson units. The materials are particularly available for secondary education levels in the public sector. However, the books themselves are currently awaiting their replacement with a new book series being designed reportedly to respond to the perceived role of ELT for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) (Tweed and Som 2015). At present, international assistance (both financial and professional) is still needed. While some aid initiatives have now been terminated, others remain in place and new ones are being implemented, especially to help strengthen Cambodian teachers' teaching and research capacity for the AEC (Tweed and Som 2015).

For the last two decades, as observed by Clayton (2006) and Moore and Bounchan (2010), we have seen a proliferation of ELT activities in Cambodia. Clayton (2006), for instance, noted the growth of private English classes in 600 schools serving approximately 500,000 Cambodians, compared to only a few dozens of such institutions in the early 1990s. Although official up-to-date figures are not available to the authors, as Cambodian teachers of English in this context for almost two decades we have observed the trend; English language educational activities have increased significantly. Most Cambodian children, at least those who live in the cities, start learning English as early as the age of three—a sociocultural situation also observed by the teachers reported in Boun (2014). Another ELT situation that has also changed dramatically involves the teachers. In the past, Cambodian students were taught more by the NES and/or 'international' ELT professionals, but now they are taught more by their fellow Cambodian (both locally and overseas trained) professionals across the nation (Moore and Bounchan 2010). However, what seems to endure the passage of time is the perpetual use of the NES materials—the syllabus-like tools thought to provide what is needed for Cambodian students to learn and use English communicatively. Anecdotal evidence suggests that such materials remain the main teaching and learning resources in the private sector of all levels and in both the private and public sectors of the tertiary level.[2]

The sociocultural context, especially the one dealing with the ideology of the English language in the country, can in part explain why Cambodian teachers and learners continue to use the NES materials. English has traditionally been viewed as a foreign language for Cambodians (MOEYS 2004). This English as a foreign language (EFL) status entails communication in English carried out between Cambodians and the NES (Jenkins 1998). Therefore, assuming that it is the 'target language' cultural and moral values that make for effective communication, it is

logical to conclude that Cambodian learners of English aim for the NES cultural knowledge so that, with it, they can communicate 'effectively' with the NES. However, concomitantly the current socio-political situation in Cambodia also suggests that the NES cultural and moral norms do not necessarily apply. In other words, as an active member of ASEAN and given strong efforts of ASEAN leaders to strengthen the AEC that would bring ASEAN into becoming a truly multicultural and multilingual economic region, Cambodian learners (and the populace more generally) would envisage communication in English between Cambodians and the ASEAN peoples more often than that between Cambodians and the NES. This situation brings the ASEAN Englishes and cultures to the fore (see Lim 2016, for a related argument). It is now the ASEAN Englishes that should be seen as the 'target language'—a variation with sets of diverse linguistic, moral, and cultural values that should make its way into ELT materials.

This short sociocultural review of the development of Cambodian ELT provides not only a glimpse of the Cambodian ELT development, but also a prediction of the increasing popularity of this field for decades to come. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, the use of NES-value-laden materials in Cambodian ELT remains perpetual. These materials are the dominant point of reference for Cambodian teachers to teach English, due in part to the prevalent view of EFL in the country. It is this very problem that motivates us to conduct the present study. In the section that follows, we report on a case study of Cambodian teachers of English in a tertiary educational context, focusing on the use of *Progressive Skills in English* textbook series (Phillips and Phillips 2011).

3 The Study

The main focus of our study is to understand, from an emic point of view, the teachers' experiences of the NES cultural and moral values as they go about handling cultural contents found in their ELT textbooks. We frame our investigation as a case study guided by the following areas: (1) the teachers' conceptions of the status of English in their working contexts, (2) cultural and moral aspects in the *Progressive Skills in English* textbook series the teachers used to teach English in a bachelor's degree program rendered by an ELT institute in Phnom Penh, and (3) teachers' decisions about and (reported) approaches to these aspects in the materials that they used. Based on our findings presented below, we aim to understand how the teachers' cognitions are interrelated to their working environments: their textbooks, their students, and their cultural contexts. By interpreting the teachers' experiences from an emic perspective and framing such an interpretation within its socio-political contexts, we come to understand the teachers' struggles and confrontations in handling cultural and moral values they encounter in using their ELT materials. Such understanding also allows us to identify gaps and interrelationships between the teachers, the teaching materials, the status of the language being taught and learnt (as the subject-matter), and the sociocultural and socio-political environments in

which the teachers live and work and in which the teaching and learning take place. Within a sociocultural framework adopted in this study, such a practice is mediated by conceptual tools (Wertsch 1991) such as the EFL vs. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) concepts (cf., Swan 2012; Widdowson 2012).

3.1 Conceptual Framework

In this study, we adopt the concepts of culture discussed in Yuen (2011). Yuen's discussion drew on Brody's (2003) concept of culture, viewed as a capitalized 'Culture' and a lower-cased 'culture.' The former is perceived as a "product of Civilization" while the latter is perceived as the way of life of a group of people (Brody 2003, p. 39). Yuen (2011) explains that these two concepts of culture are categorised by 'product' and 'practice' respectively, and that they are objective culture. Yuen also points to another factor which characterises culture. This is referred to as 'perspective,' which, according to Yuen (2011), is values and beliefs that members of a group or society have about the world they live in. This kind of culture is subjective. Drawing upon Moran's (2001, p. 25) notion that "persons" oftentimes represents culture, Yuen argues for 'person' as another factor which also characterises culture. Thus, to exemplify these concepts of culture in our ELT context, textbooks can be viewed as a form of the product, the use of the textbooks for instructional activities as a form of the practice, and the teachers' espoused values of and beliefs about the textbooks and their decisions to respond to the contents therein as a form of the perspective. We use these cultural concepts to guide our investigation of the cultural contents in the ELT textbooks by examining how a group of Cambodian teachers perceived the values of the textbooks and what beliefs they held about cultural contents found within them. In our study, we also use the phrase 'foreign cultural aspects' to encompass all those that are 'non-Cambodian' ones. Boun 2014, also reports that the Cambodian teachers in his study used the term 'foreign teachers' to mean 'native speaker teachers' of English.

The concept of morality or moral values in ELT is, however, more problematic to define and operationalise for the purpose of the present study. This difficulty is also recognised by Johnston et al. (1998), who frame their research on ESL teacher as a 'moral agent' within a general conception of morality. They define it as sense or knowledge of what is right and what is wrong and of what is bad and what is good. They note that morality is intertwined with culture, and in adult ESL classes "the explicit teaching of morality rarely plays a part in the classroom" (ibid., p. 164). With this conception of morality in mind, we approach the teachers' views about cultural and moral issues in ELT materials and interpret them together under 'culture.' That is, we view morality or moral issues as subsumed within the concept of culture(s).

According to Holliday (1994), "English language teaching produces a culture within the classroom" (p. 23), and following Johnston's (2003) notion, "teaching is always and inevitably a profoundly value-laden undertaking" (p. 12); that is, teachers and materials all are moral agents in the teaching and learning process (Johnston

et al. 1998). They bring with them their own cultural values into a world of language teaching and learning. In this regard, one way to understand cultural education in an ELT context is to study cultural contents laid out in the materials or textbooks used in ELT and how the teachers think about such contents. Cultural contents in textbooks, unlike such other elements as vocabulary and grammar, have not always been spelled out as an explicit element of the materials. In fact, they are usually embedded with other elements, such as reading and listening passages. The ways the teachers respond to such cultural artefacts have been found to be influenced by the individual teachers' perspectives they have acquired through the trajectories of their learning, working, and living situations, and by the culture of the host educational institutions—altogether conceived of here as the broader sociocultural environments that shape the teaching activity itself. Thus, morality is unstable and context-bound (Johnston 2003) and needs to be understood in situ. Adopting a sociocultural view of learning, we posit that teachers' conceptualisations and views about a particular phenomenon, for instance the status of English or the role of culture in language education, are largely shaped by the social situation in which the teachers develop personally and professionally. This theoretical assumption helped frame our investigation of the role of culture in Cambodian ELT by placing it in its proper situation, hence in situ understanding of teacher cognition and practice. However, in the literature of cultural or moral education in ELT, such an assumption is rarely spelled out as indicated by the literature review below.

3.2 Literature Review

Cultural elements embedded in the ELT materials have been the focus of research studies on second or foreign language (critical) pedagogy at least for the last three decades. Such a focus deals directly with the critical view of pedagogy or ideology and the status of English itself. Within the critical pedagogy framework, the debate is on critical evaluation of cultural values imported to the learners' home country through the use of Western textbooks (e.g., the NES materials). For example, Abdollahzadeh and Baniasad (2010) argue that there may be political and ideological implications for foreign language learning. Such implications can be realized through the use of imported textbooks which, as they assert, "are parts of a system enforcing a sense of responsibility, morality and cultural coherence. As such, textbooks used in EFL classrooms provide the primary source of information on culture and language for those studying a language" (p. 3). In this regard, Tseng (2002) argues for the inclusion of cultural aspects into EFL/ESL curriculum because such a component could enhance the learners' learning progress, asserting that "successful language learning requires language users to know the culture that underlies language" (p. 12).

Within the language-status framework, on the other hand, English language has assumed different statuses—be it EFL, ESL, ELF or English as an international language (EIL), due to the historical contexts and current socio-political developments. With ELF/EIL status that renders English as belonging to no one particular

country or system, the pedagogical implications of teaching the language embrace diverse cultures of the NNES themselves. This framework puts forth the necessity of having cultural values that reflect not only those of the NES countries but also those of other countries that use English as a means of intercultural communication in the international arena (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a). McKay (2000), for instance, submits that in promoting the learners' knowledge of interculturality, it is important to ensure that the learners are able to use the target language to express their own cultures and to relate such cultures to those of the target language. As far as the contents of the ELT materials are concerned, McKay presents three possible scenarios: the materials with cultural contents of the target language, of the source language (or of the learners), and of the international language (a diversity of cultural contents representing countries using English, as many as possible). To this end, as McKay (2000, p. 9) puts it, "as with all language teaching materials, what to include as content depends on the background and goals of the students and teacher."

Shin et al. (2011) also suggest that "textbooks should incorporate learners' diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and empower them to identify different voices and perspectives" (p. 253). They point out that with the opportunity to use the target language to talk or write about their own cultures or experiences, the learners are placed in a better position to enhance their language skills. Such an exponent of the inclusion of the local culture echoes previous calls found in Alptekin and Alptekin (1984), Prodromou (1988), and Adaskou et al. (1990). Furthermore, García (2005) comments that the (re)presentations of cultural similarities and differences in ELT materials would allow the EFL learners to draw connections between their cultural values with those of other countries around the world. This drawing of connections, as she suggests, motivates a successful learning process. There is increasing support amongst scholars for the role of cultural diversity in ELT. However, Yuen's (2011) examination of foreign cultural contents in the ELT textbooks in terms of their frequency of occurrence shows that "cultures of native English speaking countries [appeared] most frequently and those of the Asian and African less frequently" (p. 462). This is a finding similar to that of Shin et al. (2011), who reported that cultural contents of Kachru's (1992) World Englishes inner circle were represented much more than those of the other circles (i.e., the outer and expanding circles)—collectively labelled as the NNES countries.

As can be observed in this review, there are two strands of research in this area—one dealing with critical pedagogy or ideology of the target language, and the other the status of English. None of these research foci, however, seem to take into account the teachers, thus ignoring an important cultural agent in the ELT practice. This underrepresented strand of research that deals with cultural aspects in ELT materials touches upon the teachers' cognitions about and practices of such issues. Research on language teacher cognition—defined as teacher beliefs, knowledge, and thinking—has gained tremendous interest amongst language teacher education scholars (see Borg 2006; Burns and Richards 2009), but in the area of cultural values in ELT materials, such a research tradition remains scarce. Outside the Cambodian ELT context, there are however some studies. Abdollahzadeh and Baniasad (2010), for instance, find that most teachers are indeed aware of most of the ideologies presented

in the textbooks but that the teachers are reported to have less inclination to promoting such ideologies and cultural values amongst their students.

In a Vietnamese context, Ha and Linh (2013) report on three cases of ELT teachers who experience tensions as they are confronted with moral dilemmas. The authors found that through ELT, the teachers encountered Western conceptual values such as the teacher being the facilitator "as a particular and tangible expression of Western discourse of 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'student-teacher equality'" (p. 232). An interesting case reported therein was how a Vietnamese teacher negotiated moral values in teaching English in their context; that is, the teacher in question viewed his act of scolding the students as a facilitating action. The authors explain that "in this way, [the teacher] performed as expected by the profession as a whole, by universalized ELT professionals and by Vietnamese teacher professionalism embedded in the social and cultural norms that surrounded him" (p. 232). This particular finding reflects the in situ characteristic of teachers' cognitions about cultural aspects in ELT practice.

In Cambodian ELT contexts, research on teacher cognition is extremely limited, let alone such research vis-à-vis cultural education, despite the fact that the field itself has evolved to where the language is now taught by the local Cambodian teachers more than it used to be two decades ago (Moore and Bounchan 2010). That is, Cambodian ELT classroom settings are, to a large extent, constructed by the local Cambodian English teachers and students and through the ELT materials they use in the teaching and learning process. Therefore, understanding the teachers' cognitive processes or mental lives (as is generally known in this research domain) about their teaching actions helps us understand the very process of teaching. This is a gap that our research seeks to fill as it aims to highlight a group of Cambodian teachers' cognitions about and (reported) approaches to classroom practices in dealing with foreign cultural values found in their classroom ELT textbooks. Also left unexplored in the present context is how cultural education may be related to how teachers conceptualise the status of English they teach as a subject, for example teaching English as a foreign language in Cambodia (cf., Nault 2006, regarding the goals of culture teaching in ELT contexts). To capture such a relationship, one needs to conduct an analysis that takes account of the sociocultural and socio-political landscapes of the linguistic realities within the context of the research in question. Hence, the problematisation of the contemporary Cambodian ELT discussed in Sect. 2 functions as a backdrop for the present investigation and will be used in interpreting its data. To this end, we examine the following questions to guide our investigation:

1. What are the teachers' conceptions of the status of English and of the situation of ELT in contemporary Cambodia?
2. Are these Cambodian teachers aware of cultural aspects embedded in the textbooks they are using?
3. To what extent are they aware of such aspects and how do they respond to them?

3.3 Methodology

The study took place at a higher educational institution in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, that offered a number of bachelor's and master's degree programs. The course relevant to the present study was a core academic subject taught to the first, second, and third year undergraduate students who were studying towards the award of either a bachelor's of education in teaching English as a foreign (B.Ed. in TEFL) or a bachelor's of arts in English for Work Skills (B.A. in English). This course, called Core English (CE), was divided in terms of year levels. That is, CE1 was for Year 1 students, CE2 for Year 2 students, and CE3 for Year 3 students. While CE1 used *Progress Skills in English Book 2* (Phillips and Phillips 2011), CE2, and CE3 used the *New Headway Series* (Soars and Soars 2011), respectively labelled as *upper-intermediate* and *advanced levels*. As mentioned earlier, these materials are internationally imported.

All 18 Cambodian teachers of English who formed the entire cohort of CE teachers at the institution were contacted purposefully to participate in the study, but only seven agreed and returned their signed information and consent forms. Of these seven teachers whose codenames in this study are CET1, CET2, CET3, CET4, CET5, CET6, and CET7, six held a master's degree in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) or in Higher Education, and one (CET6) held the B.Ed. in TEFL from the involved institution, at the time of the study. Of the six master's degree holders, two were overseas-trained graduates and the other four graduated from local universities. The teacher participants had been teaching English at the English Department of that institution for between 3 and 6 years. As soon as they graduated from their bachelor's degree program from the department, they were recruited to teach English to undergraduate students there. At the time of the study, some of these teachers were teaching Core English subject at different year levels, thus using the textbooks mentioned above. For the present chapter, we only report on the use of *Progressive Skills* textbook.

The present case study employed semi-structured interviews as social interactions (Mann 2010) between one of the researchers and the teacher participants to collect the latter's verbal reports on their views about and approaches to cultural issues in their classroom textbook. The interview questions were designed to elicit the participants' views but were open for probing. With the participants' consents, the interviews, each of which lasting between 30 and 45 min, were audio-recorded and transcribed for the analysis purposes. The researcher who conducted the field visits also produced participant observation notes that formed part of this qualitative data set. Another set of the data was documentation, namely the textbook itself and teacher-made teaching materials. We looked for cultural contents, particularly in the reading and listening passages, juxtaposing identified cultural contents with the teachers' views about them. During the interviews, the teachers were given options about the language choice. They chose to speak in English, and English was also used in the documents collected.

The analysis of the interview data followed Strauss's (1987) grounded theory in that we coded the data from the ground up, beginning with minimal discourses such as words and phrases to larger ones such as sentences and paragraphs. These coded data, for instance "English is taught in Cambodia as a foreign language rather than a second language", were then compared across the participants' data sets. Following Strauss's guidelines, we adopted the "open coding" method by analysing the data intensively, but at the same time we also used the "overview approach" to begin with (Strauss 1987, pp. 28–31). For example, we began with readings and re-readings of the interview transcripts to gain the overall meaning of each participant's intended message before breaking the data down through the processes of coding and re-coding. Verbal accounts reflecting the teachers' cognitions about and approaches to cultural values in the ELT textbooks were analysed axially in that we concentrated on key concepts or categories in order to identify Strauss's (1987, pp. 27–28) "coding paradigm", e.g., "conditions" and "consequences." To illustrate, the concept of 'the role of culture in language instruction' was analysed in terms of its relation to the conditions or circumstances in which the teachers interpreted their teaching actions. Such circumstances were identified to link to 'the status of English' as perceived by the teachers themselves. Coded categories were then compared amongst and between themselves and with data from the field-notes and the textbook contents. The analysis of the *Progressive Skills in English Book 2,* regarded as the NES materials, extrapolated Shin et al.'s (2011) to illuminate the foreign or non-Cambodian cultural aspects embedded therein. Finally, adopting a sociocultural view of the development of human thoughts (Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985, 1991), we interpreted the teachers' emic meanings within the sociocultural and socio-political contexts in which the teachers worked and lived.

4 Findings

The teacher participants were asked during their interviews to share their opinions about the status of the English language in Cambodia. Among the seven teacher participants, five were of the view that English was a foreign language, echoing the generally received view of the status of the language. One teacher believed that it was an international language, and another teacher, however, failed to provide his response to this matter. The one teacher who attributed English in Cambodia to the EIL status cited the uses of English in such domains as "politics, business, diplomacy, and education" as a means of communicating with those individuals who do not speak Khmer. More interesting, conceptualising EIL in their context, the teacher believed that "the majority of [Cambodian students] will use English in Cambodia so they should be able to talk about things [in] Cambodia" (CET3-Interview). On the other hand, for those who held the EFL view, English was not seen as being used widely in daily communications, which had not yet replaced the status of Khmer language, but the native-speaker norms (e.g., grammar and cultural values) prevailed as the frame of pedagogical reference. As discussed shortly later in Sect. 5,

these espoused beliefs have their pedagogical implications, regarding multicultural and multilingual communications in the present context.

When asked whether they were aware of any existence of foreign cultural aspects in the textbook they were using, the teachers had mixed views, reporting that they were more or less aware of the presence of such cultural elements. They identified these elements as foreign cultural aspects—values that did not reflect Cambodian cultures. They accounted for their views on this matter by the fact that the textbook's authors were all "foreigners," thus bringing about Western or foreign cultural aspects into the ELT materials. CET3, for instance, reported that "I think the textbook is pretty much uh British." Nonetheless, generally, the teachers appeared to hold favourable attitudes towards such foreign cultural aspects. Particularly, CET4, CET6, and CET7, whose recognition of the existence of cultural aspects signalled their positive attitudes, believed that the students did not only learn the language but also the cultures of the people from various backgrounds projected in the textbooks. They believed that such cultures expanded their students' general knowledge, forming part of their communicative repertoire.

In addition, CET3 and CET4 also viewed the textbooks as a platform providing opportunities for their students to bring connections between their Cambodian cultures and non-Cambodian ones, a positive view of cultural similarities and differences in enhancing the language learning experience. To accommodate these learning opportunities, in effect, these teachers reported that they frequently brought the students' own cultural background into their lessons through personalised discussions (*CET2, CET3, CET5, CET6, and CET7 Interviews*). CET2, for instance, pointed out the positive design of the textbook stating that "in the books, after the students learned the text containing Western culture or foreign cultural aspects, there are discussion questions for students to link to their own cultural aspects" (*CET2 Interview*). The analysis of the textbooks also revealed that in listening passages, for instance, personalising students' experiences was promoted. The following short excerpt extracted from a *Progressive Skills Book 2* listening transcript of a talk about births, marriages, and deaths shows how such personalisation was incorporated into listening activities:

> *(…) What are the origins of rituals? Anthropologists say that rituals are a way of talking to God (or the gods). People come together to celebrate or remember something. For example, there are harvest festivals at the end of the summer in many countries. They thank God for the harvest. They want God to send the sun and the rain. Then they will have a good harvest the next year, too.*
>
> ***Are traditional festivals dying in your country?*** *In the past, parents taught their children about the procedures. They were passed down from one generation to the next. But nowadays, modern societies in some countries are losing the rituals of the past. (Progressive Skills Book 2, p. 175)*

There are other listening activities designed to model the students to use English to personalise their cultural experiences. Presented below is another example from a listening passage about festivals. That listening passage is presented after the students listen to a number of talks about festivals in such countries as Japan, the

United States, and Mexico. This listening passage is understood to bring about the students' personalised learning experiences.

Voice A: *Are there any traditional festivals in your country?*
Voice B: *Yes, we have one in the summer. It's called Noc Swietojanska in Polish. I like it a lot.*
Voice A: *Sorry? Did you say Noc?*
Voice B: *Yes. It means 'night'. Saint John's Night. We celebrate the longest day of the year, and the shortest night. It's on the 23rd of June.*
Voice A: *We celebrate that in my country too. What do you do exactly?*
Voice B: *Well, people dress in colourful traditional clothes. There is music, dancing and fireworks. The young women make wreaths of flowers with candles on them. (Progressive Skills Book 2, p. 178)*

Activities such as these (including also those found in reading activities) appeared to have been designed to help students bring about cultural discussions amongst themselves using the target language.

However, the teachers reported that at times they avoided focusing on such discussions, citing limited cultural knowledge on the part of both the students and the teachers themselves. The teachers recounted that their limited cultural knowledge prevented them from promoting cultural lessons in the classrooms. CET1, for example, commented that whenever he recognised that the content of a reading passage or a listening text was difficult because of its cultural background knowledge, he was likely to skip it. He believed that cultural texts "are too difficult for the students to understand so we just skipped the activities" altogether (*CET1 Interview)*. The teachers also linked their decision to abandon cultural contents to the students' preferred lessons. CET3, for instance, went on to argue that his students did not seem to find interest in working on cultural texts even when, he observed, some of them were familiar with the cultural topic in question. The teacher stressed that when the lesson focused on grammar or vocabulary, the students enjoyed it better.

> *…a lot of students do not know about other countries' cultures so it is difficult for them to share. And a lot of them = some of them know but they don't seem to think that it is useful for them to share…But when it comes to discussing grammar, discussing vocabulary, everybody seems to be excited and pay attention to the worksheet and handout and do exercises. [But] when it comes to discussion, talking about cultural issue or talking about things that are related to [this], they don't seem so excited. This is my experience teaching, you know, one class …here. (CET3 Interview)*

We found that the teachers' limited cultural knowledge inhibited the teachers' ability to deal with cultural contents in their ELT teaching materials and created tensions on their part. The following excerpts illustrate such tensions:

> *…So then certain kind of information or certain kind of context seem to be not very common for us and we find- sometimes we find it hard to understand the text itself, I mean as a teacher because we don't actually understand the culture or the [cultural] context …(CET6 Interview)*

> *…but sometimes we find it hard to understand what is mainly about because of our [limited] existing knowledge. [It is] to do with the background information. (CET7 Interview)*

Trying to rectify the situation, the teachers reported that they sought access to cultural information from various sources, including from the Internet, to stay informed so that they could handle cultural contents in their materials. For instance, CET7 reported that:

> *So if I find it hard to understand and then it's hard for me to come up with [explanations], so if I see this is so culture-based, I try to read more so that I have some points, if not many, some points or a few points to explain the meaning in class (CET7 Interview)*

Another solution the teachers reported they sought was to incorporate their students' cultural values into the discussions of the foreign culture by means of personalising the students' experiences and by letting them talk about their cultures and the local cultural events (briefly presented earlier). For example, CET4 argued that his students became active and engaging in talking about Cambodian culture although he was aware that his students wanted to focus more on language aspects such as vocabulary and grammar (*CET4 Interview*).

However, deeper analysis of their elaborations on the decision to set aside cultural contents revealed another more compelling rationale: the test-oriented teaching goal in their ELT activities. It became clear with these teachers' arguments that the purpose of using the textbooks was not to teach students those cultural aspects. Rather, they were to teach the students (about) the language: vocabulary, grammar, and language skills. CET1, for instance, explained that the activities containing foreign cultural elements were irrelevant to the teaching goal and that they would not help his students to be familiar with IELTS or TOEFL. To this effect, he often replaced cultural activities with his own—the ones that he believed would prepare his students for their semester examinations.

> *Yeah it's like the skills – skill 1, skill 2, skill 3. Because we think that before we give our students listening test, or semester listening, they are not familiar with IELTS or TOEFL and* ***if they just count on the listening in the text book, it's got to be quite [a] disaster****. So it's like we prepare the students for the test. I think this is the only way we commonly do, you know…I think I sometimes also have [other] activities. (CET1 Interview)*

The highlighted sentence in the above quote reflects CET1's attitude towards the listening activities (such as the ones extracted from the *Progressive Skills Book 2*, presented earlier). That is, activities that fostered cultural discussions were in fact deemed by these Cambodian teachers as 'disastrous' to the goal of teaching and learning English in their contexts.

The test-oriented teaching goal, which focused heavily on linguistic aspects, was a common teaching pursuit shared by other teachers, even for those who did not directly participate in this study. The analysis of the field-notes produced by one of the authors during his field visits revealed that textbook activities that were not grammar-oriented were deemed inappropriate for their context. From a 'subject technical' meeting conducted by a group of CE teachers who co-taught the subject using *Progressive Skills Book 2*, the following field-note substantiates this finding, where 'I' refers to the researcher who conducted the field visits:

> *Today, 30 January 2013, I joined in the meeting with CE1 lecturers at 5:00 p.m. From their discussion, I learned that the majority of lecturers viewed Progressive Skills 2 to be not*

> *appropriate for teaching English in their context. They said that they couldn't use the textbook because it did not have grammar lessons and that they found it difficult to deal with the contents in the textbook. I found out that most lecturers did not follow this textbook, and, instead, they supplemented grammar lessons from various grammar resource books to teach their students. (A field-note: 30-01-13)*

This test-oriented teaching goal was identified in connection with the teacher's role, the status of the workplace and with their personal experiences—altogether constituting a sociocultural analytical framework. Some teachers stated explicitly that because the institution where they worked was a "language" institute, their utmost goal to teaching their students was therefore to teach the language itself. Some other teachers established their goal in teaching English with the influence of their perceived role as a *language* teacher, meaning that they were to teach their students the language and only the language, not culture or moral values. As their farthermost goal in teaching English to their students was firmly established, the participants aimed to help their students to gain high-level English proficiency (*CET4, CET6, CET7 Interviews*) and to be "competent" users of the language (*CET1, CET2, CET4 Interviews*), where being competent here meant conforming to the native-speaker linguistic norms (see also Seidlhofer and Jenkins 2003; Widdowson 2012). These aims, as were reported by the teachers, would be attained through the teaching of grammar, vocabulary, and such macro skills as reading, listening, and speaking—and not the cultural elements. Most participants did not report that they focused on teaching writing skill because there was a separate course designed for this purpose—Writing Skills Subject. Some of these teachers (particularly CET1, CET2, and CET3) reported that they also aimed for their students to have correct pronunciation, to become independent learners, and to be equipped with adequate testing strategies for such standardised tests as IELTS and TOEFL. These teachers perceived these linguistic elements of paramount importance for high-level English proficiency.

Teaching the students content knowledge that encapsulates cultural values embedded in the materials was not reported as one of the teaching goals, despite their expressed acknowledgement that cultural knowledge did play a positive role in promoting the students' learning of English. CET2, for instance, stated bluntly that he did not care about the content of the texts, be they listening or reading texts. His role, he went on, was to assist his students to learn the language and use it correctly.

> *The point is when I teach a particular text, for example related to economy, a festival or a foreign culture, I do not really intend for the students to know about that culture. What I want when teaching such a kind of text is for the students to be able to use the language properly or in an acceptable manner [i.e., grammatically correct]. (CET2 Interview)*

Teaching English, to these teachers, meant teaching their students to score better in such tests as IELTS and TOEFL. These teachers reported that they would replace cultural contents with practice tests extracted from these two common sources: IELTS and TOEFL practice tests.

> *So I'd replace [cultural texts with] the listening materials and the listening materials [were] sometimes from IELTS and sometimes from TOEFL, right.* ***But it's like listening practice, you know, listening practice****. (CET1 Interview)*

> *In addition to the textbooks I also prepare my- prepare some of my lessons by using- by having access to the other resources like reading. When I'm teaching reading, for the test, you know, for the test at the end of the semester (…) we use like short reading TOEFL texts which share the common topic with the theme in our textbook. (CET4 Interview)*

> *Especially for practice and for listening mainly I cover on- I mean besides this I focus on IELTS and TOEFL so there must be more materials to do with that. (CET7 Interview)*

For CET1, who said "it's like listening practice, you know, listening practice," the use of listening materials from IELTS and TOEFL was solely to help his students practice the kind of tests, and nothing else. The cultural aspects embedded in those materials, as he implied, did not matter. For CET4 and CET7, as shown in the above quotes, IELTS and TOEFL practice tests were always "there," ready to replace the textbook's cultural activities the teachers deemed irrelevant.

The present study found that the teachers defined their instructional goals strictly related to their students' performance in such tests as IELTS and TOEFL, which engulfed their instructional activities; cultural education did not form part of these teachers' teaching goals. At the same time, their teaching goals also appeared to be intertwined with their own knowledge about foreign cultures.

5 Discussion

As we need to make sense of these teachers' views about cultural values in their ELT materials and how those views gave rise to their (reported) practice, we map interconnections between the themes found in our analysis and the sociocultural and socio-political contexts of the teachers' works and lives. Our assumption is that cultural aspects (both those of the target and source languages) play a key role in English learning and (intercultural) communication in the present context of Cambodia and that of ASEAN as a whole region. However, we also go a step further; we situate our investigation and analysis within the ASEAN context of ELF, juxtaposing our interpretation of the findings with the current development of the sociolinguistic landscape of the region in which Cambodia plays a significant part.

One of the major themes emerging from the analysis of these teachers' data is their perceptions of the status of English. As they viewed English as a foreign language, their views entail teaching English for pragmatic purposes, particularly for high performance in standardised tests such as IELTS and TOEFL. These perceptions seem consistent with the students' motivation to learn English in this present context, a finding found in Lim (2012). Lim surveyed a group of students from this very context and found out that the students learned English for instrumental and pragmatic purposes, a characteristic of EFL contexts. This can be referred to as distributed perceptions of the Cambodian ELT practitioners. That is, both the teach-

ers and the students hold the same received view about the status of EFL in Cambodia and what they need from learning it, which, in this study, was to teach students to conform to the native-speaker linguistic norms. Moreover, when cultural aspects were discussed during their interviews, the majority of the teachers attributed their characteristics to the native-speakers' cultural norms, as indicated by such expressions as "American […] British [or] Western" cultures.

Relating this finding to the two research frameworks mentioned earlier in the literature—one dealing with critical pedagogy and the other with ELF/EIL—it can be said that the teachers in this context did not seem to take account of the critical pedagogy or cultural education. In other words, it appears that the teachers in this study did not believe that the practice of ELT is relevant to the notional threat to national identity (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a), nor did they aim to help their students to be more knowledgeable about foreign cultural issues or to have intercultural competence. Although some teachers talked about aiming for their students to be competent users of the language, they strictly meant grammatical competency, again, which conforms to the native-speaker linguistic norms. No (inter)cultural competency could be interpreted as the intended aim in their ELT practice.

The 'problematisation' of Cambodian ELT at the beginning of this chapter points to the sociocultural and socio-political situations in Cambodia and the region as the overarching landscape that shapes the status of English and the practice of its pedagogy. According to Clayton (2006) and Chea et al. (2012), for Cambodia, English is a lingua franca or a language for wider communication. It is also referred to as an EIL, as reported in Moore and Bounchan (2010). The pronouncement of English to be the sole official language for ASEAN communication is another testament of ELF or EIL for Cambodia. However, such a sociolinguistic 'reality' does not seem to be shared by the teachers in this study who believed otherwise that English in Cambodia remained a foreign language, a received view implicitly imposed by the country's MOEYS policy (MOEYS 2004). MOEYS itself upholds the EFL view that can be seen as the result of the historical development of Cambodian ELT (see T. Clayton (2002, 2006), S. Clayton (2008), and Neau (2003)). This situation creates dissonance between the teachers' and MOEYS' views and the present sociopolitical context of the English language in Cambodia and ASEAN as a whole. It is this dissonance that inhibits the realisation of the cultural dimensions of ELT in this context because, on the one hand, the EFL view seems to offer the teachers a monolithic (and linguistic) framework while, on the other hand, the ELF/EIL view for ASEAN countries can project a more diverse and multicultural point of reference with which the teachers can use in their work (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2010a, 2014).

Another connected theme arrived at from the analysis of the teachers' interview data was the teachers' strictly defined instructional goal. That is, as they reported, cultural knowledge either of the English speaking worlds or of the students themselves did not seem to play a central role (although it was indeed reported to have a role) in English language teaching and learning. These teachers primarily aimed to teach the language and only the language, broadly and also vaguely seen by these teachers as encapsulating grammar, vocabulary, and the four macro-skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing), a finding that falls in line with Abdollahzadeh

and Baniasad's (2010). These views are seen to be consistent with the institutional objective statements addressed for the Core English subject itself, in which the main aims are to improve the students' linguistic competence in grammar, vocabulary, and macro skills (*Student Information Booklet* 2013). Therefore, the current practice of ELT and English language education in Cambodia, especially in the context of this study, can be understood to be reflecting the institutional goal(s). In other words, the institutional goals influence the ways the teachers treat cultural contents in their textbook. Therefore, the teachers' exclusive focus on teaching only the language aspects (encompassing grammar, vocabulary, and skills rather than any other elements such as cultural aspects) constitutes a culture of practice of the ELT in contemporary Cambodia (Holliday 1994; Johnston 2003).

The role of textbooks and those cultural elements found therein appears to be less relevant for the ELT world defined by our teachers in this study that resulted from the teachers' limited cultural knowledge itself. As we reported earlier, when the teachers found out that they could not handle the activities with embedded foreign cultural elements, due to their limited cultural knowledge, they generally replaced those activities with supplementary ones whose aims were to enhance their students' practice of test-taking skills, the latter being more compelling to an instructional goal. Taking Adaskou et al.'s (1990) conclusion into consideration, we can regard this 'compelling' teaching aim as an effective, cultural and moral way to teaching English in the Cambodian ELT context. That is, as we interpret this finding in terms of the cultural education in ELT, we recall Johnston et al.'s (1998) discussion about 'the teaching of morality and the morality of teaching.' The fact that these Cambodian teachers disregarded cultural contents in their teaching materials could be understood as their morality of teaching English. Cultural instruction was not what their students wanted, and it would not be 'right' either if they embody it. The students enjoyed learning English grammar, vocabulary, and language skills. That is, it appears that for these teachers to teach their students, these *language* aspects was the *cultural* and *moral* thing to do.

Nevertheless, the teachers' strictly defined instructional goal of ELT effectively reduces the complexity of language learning, language teaching, and the language itself to the mere accumulation of grammar, vocabulary, and language skills. It undermines the communicative and cultural dimensions of the language. Learning a language, no matter if it is a foreign, second, or international language, means learning its cultural and moral values for effective communication (e.g., Kramsch 1991), but this conviction invokes the original problem put forth in this study. Is English still a foreign language? Is it now a lingua franca? If it is a lingua franca, what are the implications for Cambodian ELT? These are important questions when it comes to (socio)cultural education in the Cambodian ELT because they raise another equally vital question: whose cultures should they be? Given the momentum of the role of English in ASEAN, the status of English in Cambodia is most certainly not a mere foreign language—a naïve concept apparently shared by most teachers in this study and the policy-making institution (MOEYS) itself, however. We argue, therefore, that the Cambodian ELT has reached a transitional stage where

English essentially and practically is a lingua franca for ASEAN and beyond. This transition should (re)define the practice of Cambodian ELT as to how cultural education can be part of it so that ASEAN inter- and cross-cultural communication in English can be achieved.

6 Practical Directions for ELT Materials Developments

In the light of the findings and discussions presented above, we present below some practical directions for English materials developments in the present context. However, it is worth repeating that the assumption that we hold in outlining these directions rests in the role culture(s) can contribute to favourable teaching and learning experiences. This assumption is situated within a broad sociocultural and sociopolitical situation of Cambodia, i.e., the ASEAN community, that delimits the sociolinguistic realities or landscapes of English language learning, teaching, and use in the region and beyond. In other words, this assumption posits that the ASEAN community, an overarching socio-political situation, shapes how English is used, learnt, and taught in ASEAN countries, in a way similar to, for example, how cultural elements in Japanese ELT have been shaped (Hino 2012). Essentially, it presupposes the role of English as a lingua franca (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a). Consequently, the directions for ELT materials developments we delineate below invoke some pre-requisites Cambodian ELT stakeholders should bear so that their teaching activities can be meaningful and run parallel with the evolving nature of English for communication in Cambodia and ASEAN more generally.

- The first pre-requisite for ELT materials developments to be meaningful given the present discussions is to raise the awareness of concerned stakeholders of the ELT enterprise. These stakeholders include policy makers, curriculum developers, teachers and students—who need to understand that culture(s) can contribute to favourable and successful language learning. Language and culture have long been recognised as inseparable phenomena in language learning and teaching (e.g., Kramsch 1991). The teachers' decisions to abandon cultural elements of their ELT lessons, as have been reported in this chapter, were thus worrisome. As a result, they should be reminded of the importance of culture in language learning and in cross-cultural communication.
- Cambodian ELT practitioners and policy makers also need to comprehend the current nature of English that they are working with. Being aware of such a nature entails revisiting their own attitudes towards and ideologies about, for example, EFL vs. ELF in their working context (cf., Swan 2012; see also Widdowson 2012). Essentially, they "have to make decisions with regard to when, how, and what kind of English is to be taught" (Y. Kachru and Smith 2008, p. 178). As argued earlier, the kind of English for Cambodian ELT should be ASEAN Englishes and their diverse cultural aspects.

- Consequently, the target language and culture is not merely the English language that conforms to the 'native' speaker's linguistic and cultural norms (Kirkpatrick 2014; Seidlhofer and Jenkins 2003). It is not simply a 'foreign' language used in communication between Cambodians and 'foreigners,' generally known in Cambodia as the native speakers (such as the British or Americans). Such an assumption is what B. B. Kachru (2009, p. 184) refers to as "the interlocutor myth" of English language teaching and learning. In Cambodia, English can now be conceptualised as a language used for international and cross-cultural communication between ASEAN peoples and others. It follows, therefore, that cultural aspects in the teaching and learning materials should encompass the cultural norms of the ASEAN peoples more than those of Kachru's (1992) Inner Circle countries. While there will be challenges faced by Cambodian teachers and material developers alike as to what to include in their teaching materials due to the diverse cultural uniqueness of the region, there have been research on communication between users of ELF in ASEAN (e.g., Deterding 2013; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), the nature of English(es) in Asian contexts (e.g., Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006), and cultural aspects in world Englishes such as 'politeness' (e.g., Y. Kachru and Smith 2008).
- These writings can be used by and/or introduced to teachers and materials designers as references, on which they can draw for their practices. For example, in Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006, particularly Chapters 19 and 20), the notion of culture in Asian contexts is examined in relation to the "conventions of speaking and writing" across cultures and in Y. Kachru and Smith (2008), the meanings of 'politeness' or 'being polite' across cultures are discussed around 12 parameters, briefly: values, face, status, rank, role, power, age, sex, social distance, intimacy, kinship, and group membership. These cultural aspects can be translated into cultural contents in the ELT materials oriented to ELF in Cambodia.
- English teaching and learning materials and their developments in Cambodian ELT contexts have long been recognised as a domain that needs improving for effective English language education in Cambodia (e.g., Neau 2003). The present chapter has demonstrated that while this domain requires close attention from concerned stakeholders in the Cambodian ELT enterprise, it argues that the development of such materials should respond to current status of English in the country and the region.

7 Conclusion

The EIL/ELF research framework for cultural and moral education in ELT is relevant here. Some teachers in this study held some perspectives of the importance of (foreign) cultural knowledge in successful communication, but these teachers chose not to realise this aspect in their teaching. One of the reasons was because they themselves lacked such highly abstract and complex cultural knowledge. Another reason stemmed from their socioculturally received view about the status of English

as a foreign language in Cambodia, which essentially entailed a perspective of the ELT goals being strictly defined towards testing performance and linguistic competence. Cultural competence was not part of the picture. We argue therefore by embracing the ELF or EIL status in this context, the teachers, the students, administrators, policy makers, and curriculum designers are offered a broader perspective of the ELT goals. Considering this point, we propose that should we aim to embrace the ELF or EIL status in this context, these teachers essentially require additional training particularly in cultural knowledge of the target language and cultural issues in teaching the language. This also brings us back to the problem of what counts as the 'target language.' Should we agree that cultural values are pivotal in English language teaching and learning for ASEAN communication, ELT material developers need to take into account the ASEAN dynamic cultures and morality. In this regard, we argue that the various dimensions of ELT, for example, the linguistic, social, and cultural dimensions, need to be situated within their sociocultural and socio-political contexts. It follows therefore that the 'target language' for Cambodian ELT (as well as those of the other countries in the region) is the ASEAN Englishes.

8 Notes

1. More details about ELT historical development in Cambodia can be found in Neau (2003), Pit and Roth (2003) and T. Clayton (2006), or about the role of ELT in ASEAN integration, Stroupe and Kimura (2015).
2. Unlike the public secondary education, the public tertiary institutions are largely autonomous in deciding the types of materials to be used in teaching English. Additionally, the textbooks used in the public school system are locally published.

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A Critical Analysis of Moral Values in Vietnam-Produced EFL Textbooks for Upper Secondary Schools

Le Van Canh

Abstract Drawing on critical language pedagogy theories, this chapter presents the results of an analysis of moral values embedded in Vietnam-produced EFL textbooks for upper secondary schools. As it is revealed that while both Vietnamese and universal moral values are presented in the textbooks, the learning activities are not adequate to engage students in reading, writing, observing, debating, role play, simulations, and the use of statistical data to develop skills in critical thinking, decision making, and problem solving. The chapter concludes with some suggestions to address this drawback if English education in Vietnam is to enable Vietnamese young generations to develop their linguistic and cognitive skills, social awareness, emotional well-being, critical thinking, and a tolerant world view in order to function competitively in the multilingual and multicultural world.

Keywords Critical language pedagogy • Global citizenship • Moral responsibility • Moral values • Vietnamese secondary schools

1 Introduction

In an unrest world in which terrorism, religious conflicts, and environmental deterioration have become global concerns, English language educators and applied linguists have extended their interests beyond language acquisition and linguistic competence to focus on moral dimensions of language education (e.g., Brown 1997; Johnston 2003; Johnston and Buzzelli 2008; Shaaban 2005). Johnston (2003) argues that English language teaching (ELT) is "profoundly a moral undertaking" (p. 18). He adds that a focus on the moral dimension of ELT can lead both to better learning and to a better world. Since the 1990s, there have been calls for second/foreign language teachers to play the role as moral agents while continuing to develop their

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students' communicative competence in the target language (Brown 1997; Crookes and Lehner 1998; Shaaban 2005; Stempelski 1993). It has been suggested that moral values can be incorporated into English-as-a-second-language (ESL) and/or English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) lessons through the use of instructional materials and resources that are useful, interesting, and attractive to the learners (Pereira 1993). However, scholars (e.g., Johnston et al. 1998, p. 164) have pointed out that the moral dimension is usually represented implicitly in ELT. Johnston (2003) acknowledges the difficult moral dilemmas with which teachers often find themselves confronted. As far as my knowledge is concerned, one of the those dilemmas lies in the fact that teachers, in many Asian contexts, have to finish the textbook according to the mandated syllabus while moral values may not be explicitly presented in the textbook. In fact, the literature on how moral values are presented in either internationally or locally produced ESL/EFL textbooks remains quite scarce. This chapter reports on the results of an analysis of the moral values in the English language textbooks written by Vietnamese authors and currently being in use in all Vietnamese upper secondary schools (Grades 10–12). The analysis was guided by critical pedagogy theories (Canagarajah 2005; Ford 2009; Norton and Toohey 2004).

2 Moral Education in ESL/EFL Classrooms from Critical Pedagogy Perspectives

In this study, I take the notion of moral values as communally accepted constraints on individual behavior regarding interpersonal relationship, materialism, the natural environment, and communal identification. These values vary from society to society. Thus, moral education (alternately labelled character or values education) is defined as "strategic teaching of basic values and principles – such as fairness, honesty, and respect for others – that would develop in learners a sense of social and personal responsibility" (Shaaban 2005, p. 201). Regarding the moral dimension of second language teaching, Johnston and Buzzelli (2008, p. 95) explicitly assert,

> Like other kinds of teaching, language education is fundamentally and, some would argue, primarily moral in nature. By "moral", we mean that it involves crucial yet difficult and ambiguous beliefs and decisions about what is right and good for learners and others. The moral dimensions of teaching inhere in certain key facts. First, all teaching aims to change people; there is an implicit assumption that this change is for the better. Second, there are limitations on the degree to which science, research, and objective facts about teaching and learning can guide teachers in the decisions they make; the great majority of teachers' work in actual classrooms has to be based on teachers' beliefs about what is right and good for their learners – that is to say, it is rooted in moral values. Third, like any relations between human beings, relations between a teacher and her students are moral in nature, resolving around key issues such as trust and respect. The innate power differential between teacher and students merely reinforces this basic fact.

Shaaban (2005) argues that the ESL classroom is an ideal environment for moral education. She argues that the pedagogical strategies used in these classrooms are excellent vehicles for promulgating these values that are widely embraced by ESL teachers and scholars.

Since language is viewed as a social practice (Fabrício 2006 cited in Pessoa and Freitas 2012, p. 757), rather than as "simply a means of expression or communication" (Norton and Toohey (2004, p. 1), language learning is a practice that constructs the ways learners understand themselves, their socio-historical surrounding and their possibility for the future. Thus, language teaching does not lend itself to a simple transmission of factual information about the world, to superficial discussion or playful activities, as is common in communicative teaching. Instead, language classrooms should be places of genuine interaction and critical awareness of moral issues (Pessoa and Freitas 2012) for students to reconstruct their moral identities. In Baladi's (2007) words, while teaching of English and English language itself have, for a long time, been seen as clean and safe exports, as a practical means of communication carrying few ethical implications, today there is a realization that teaching and spread of English involve complex moral, social, and political implications. In a similar vein, Pennycook (1990) calls for a shift of focus in English language teaching (ELT) from the "trivialization of content and an overemphasis on communicative competence" (p. 13) to "an understanding of how language is socially constructed and how it produces change and is changed in human life" (p. 21).

Drawing on the view of language as a social practice, Kramsch (2000) raises two fundamental questions to any educational planning and instructional practices: how language in discourse both reflects and creates social structures and political ideologies and what the relation of language to social and cultural identity is. Both of these questions have a lot to do with the discourses of reading passages and the reader's interaction with the texts they read. Hence, as students read for comprehension, they are expected to not only comprehend the linguistic forms but they grab the facts, thoughts, and moral values that come into being with their reading process as well. This perspective has a great deal in common with the critical pedagogy perspective. Ford (2009) asserts that the last few decades have seen a growing interest in critical pedagogy (CP) in both ESL and EFL contexts. In Pennycook's (1990) words, CP can be defined as an approach to teaching and curriculum that seeks to understand and critique the historical and sociopolitical context of schooling and to develop pedagogical practices that aim not only to change the nature of schooling but the wider society. Akbari (2008) contends that CP in ELT is an attitude towards language teaching, which relates the classroom context to the wider social context and aims at social transformation through education. Canagarajah (2005) introduces CP not as a theory, but a way of doing learning and teaching or borrowing Pennycook's (2001) terminology, it is teaching with an attitude. In Crookes and Lehner's (1998) words, CP in English should not be seen as a merely pedagogical method as to "how to teach English," but as a social and educational approach which is concerned about how English learning can affect personal and social change. Given the aim of the study reported in this chapter is to examine critically the moral values embedded

in Vietnam-produced English textbooks for the upper secondary school students across the country, the following definition of CP by Crookes (2013, p.8) is adopted:

> Critical pedagogy is teaching for social justice, in ways that support the development of active, engaged citizens who will, as circumstances permit, critically inquire into why the lives of so many human beings, perhaps including their own, are materially, psychologically, socially, and spiritually inadequate – citizens who will be prepared to seek out solutions to the problems they define and encounter, and take action accordingly.

The above definition implies that language has both structural and functional dimensions, and is socially implicated as discourse and thus involved in the construction of individuals and the maintenance and change of societal structures. Language teaching practice and language learning materials are therefore should promote social justice.

Critical pedagogy (CP) in ELT contexts, according to Akbari (2008), is an attitude towards language teaching which relates the classroom context to the wider social context and aims at social transformation through education. From the CP perspective, teachers, including second or foreign language teachers, are not viewed as merely information banks, but rather as 'transformative intellectuals,' to use Giroux's (1997) terms. Giroux elaborates that, by creating appropriate conditions, teachers enable students to become cultural producers who can rewrite their experiences and perceptions. Ryan (1986, p. 228) claims that teachers should "help children become ethically mature adults, capable of moral thought and action when facing issues such as drug abuse, indiscriminate shootings, and domestic, regional, and global conflicts." Teaching English as a global language for intercultural appreciation and intercultural communication lends itself to the development of learners' understanding of their own values and others' values, which is at the heart of moral education. Adopting critical pedagogy perspectives, different authors have focused on the development of post-method pedagogies (Kumaravadivelu 2006), teacher identity in official educational discourse (Guerrero 2010), ELT and neoliberalism (Block et al. 2012), and the contents and use of published teaching materials (Gray 2013). However, as Crookes (2009) has pointed out that not much research has been undertaken on materials development from CP perspectives, and the question, "What would critical second/foreign language materials be like?" remains unanswered. This study is an attempt to promote this inquiry line.

3 EFL Textbooks and Moral Education

Shaaban (2005) argues that "The ESL/EFL classroom is a natural place for instruction in moral education as the English language education discipline lends itself rather well to the dynamics of moral values" (p. 204). Considering textbooks as the core resources in language learning programmes (Richards 2010), Norton and Toohey (2004) emphasise the need not only to create instructional materials,

"but also to broaden the range of what are considered appropriate materials" (p. 12) from the critical pedagogy perspective. Thus, a critical analysis of the moral values presented in the ELT textbooks could inform local materials developers and classroom teachers of how to develop ELT materials that can help learners to construct and reconstruct their moral identities as agents of transformation in their own society.

Regarding the function of textbooks in the field of ELT, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) claim that a textbook potentially functions as a teacher, a map, a resource, a trainer, an authority, a de-skiller, and an ideology. From a critical theory perspective, textbooks are the major ideological transmitter for conveying dominant beliefs and values of the society (Apple 1992). As an ideology, a textbook reflects a worldview of a cultural system of which moral values are a sub-system. In this sense, textbooks play a pivotal role in the success of language education's socially transformative agenda. Rinvolucri (1999) has been bitterly opposed to the content of EFL textbooks where the EFL world stays away from the dark side of the life with no mention of death, poverty, or war. Canagarajah (1999) demonstrates such a lack of appropriateness in this way: "The Tamil students sit listening to the teacher reads about the life of a middle-class British university student, while Government helicopters fly above searching for Tamil tigers. The textbooks could not move detached from the students' lives" (p. 10). Smith (2007) argues that people in foreign language textbooks "do not suffer, do not die, do not face difficult moral choices, do not mourn or lament, do not experience or protest injustice, do not pray or worship, do not believe anything particularly significant, do not sacrifice, do not hope or doubt" (p. 39). Osborn (2006) calls this drawback of the textbook "curricular bankruptcy" (p.16). Recently, Baurain (2011) analyzed the listening texts and listening tasks and pointed out that "listening is rarely a matter only of linguistic skills, proficiencies, performances, outcomes, or products. There are moral and relational dimensions which must be included and addressed" (p.175).

Despite the call for need to create and adapt "materials for critical pedagogies" (Norton and Toohey 2004, p. 1), there has been very little literature and empirical research on language textbooks from the critical pedagogy perspective (Crookes 2009; Rashidi and Safari 2011). Rashidi and Safari (2011) present an eleven-principle framework for language materials development, but there is not any framework for language evaluation based on critical pedagogy theories. Viewing the role of textbooks from a critical pedagogy perspective, Shor (1992, p. 35) write,

> As long as existing knowledge is not presented as facts and doctrines to be absorbed without question, as long as existing bodies of knowledge are critiqued and balanced from a multicultural perspective, and as long as the students' own themes and idioms are valued along with standard usage, existing canons are part of critical education.

Taking Shor's view into consideration, standard content textbook materials should be subject to problematizing and critique though they can be used in the classroom. As the study reported in this chapter is designed to use critical pedagogy theories to examining the moral values presented in a Vietnam-produced set of EFL textbooks for high school students from critical pedagogy perspectives, Shor's

above-quoted view is used to guide the study. The study is to seek answers to the following research questions:

1. What moral values are represented in the nationally developed English language textbooks for Vietnamese upper secondary school students of Grades 10–12, and to what extent?
2. Is the treatment of moral values in those textbooks adequate to develop students' critical thinking so that they can perceive of moral issues from their life situation, and then reflect and act on them?

4 Moral Values in Vietnamese Educational Discourse

Historically, Vietnamese education philosophy is influenced by Chinese philosophies of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the French Catholic philosophies, and the Soviet Marxist philosophy. The Vietnamese traditional values, which are still prevalent today, place the teaching profession at a high social status and expect teachers to be moral citizens and role models to the students. Teachers are expected to develop their students' intellectual skills and good morality (Canh 2011).

According to Rydström (2001), "Vietnamese educational discourses hold that a child's body is a passive textual surface on which moral values should be inscribed by teachers and senior kin, who are expected to guarantee a child's successful 'socialization" (p. 395). 'Morality,' in the Vietnamese context, is understood broadly as the practice, manners or conduct of human beings in relation to each other. Moral education is thus concerned with standards of behavior justified by people as right and proper and is to be conducted willingly without the interference of law. Moral education has always been emphasized as one educational goal, even the most important goal. It is evidenced in the precept "First Morality then Knowledge' (*Tiên học lễ hậu học văn*), which can be seen on the front of most schools nationwide.

The most basic traditional Vietnamese moral values include family values, ancestral worship, respect for the elder and the superior and self-denial for the inferior' (*kính trên nhường dưới*), tolerance, harmony (*hòa thuận*), honor and reputation, diligence, and love for nature. It is no exaggeration to state that the family is an important part of Vietnamese culture. However, in the traditional Vietnamese society, the family unit is an extended family –grandparents, parents, nieces, and nephews – all living together. Born into such a culture, Vietnamese children first become socialized into their parents' culture primarily through the medium of language (i.e. Vietnamese), and in doing so, they also acquire the view of the world and moral values specific to that society. Very recently, Pham Hong Tung (2011) reported the findings from a survey on major characteristics and tendencies in Vietnamese youth's lifestyle that the family relationship was the moral value that was most acknowledged while selfishness, ignorance, carelessness, lack of responsibility, and enthusiasm were least acknowledged by the participants. However, there have been strong criticisms against the current pragmatism in Vietnamese education, which overemphasizes knowledge memorization and examination performance at the

expense of moral education. Consequently, school violence and crimes are increasing at an alarming rate. In addition to that the transnational cultural flow under the influence of globalization and the uncritical import of western educational ideologies are contributors to the reshaping of Vietnamese cultural values. As Burr (2006, p. 25) has observed,

> Vietnam has historically experienced a hard battle with outsiders intent on reshaping and taking over its territory…Contemporary Vietnam is being invaded in a more subtle but nevertheless nefarious manner, this time by cultural hijackers intent on, among other objectives, introducing children in the region to a new set of values and expectations, without necessarily first doing the groundwork to find out why they follow their current lifestyles.

In such a situation, it is timely to discuss how moral values can be integrated into English language education from a critical pedagogy perspective.

5 English Language Education in Vietnam

Vietnam is currently undergoing a metamorphosis from a relatively closed society with a centrally planned economy, to a rapidly urbanizing one with a global outlook. English language teaching in the country has passed through a host of ups and downs and has experienced extreme courses from being almost downplayed to the status of the dominant foreign language to be taught and learned. As a language of global communication, English has been prescribed as "a compulsory subject" taught from Grade 3 to Grade 12 (the last year of the secondary education programme). In Vietnam, and perhaps in many other Asian countries, English has been viewed as being "instrumental to the Vietnamese young generation's further study and employability "in a globalized and multicultural and multilingual environment" (Government of Vietnam 2008, p.1). Towards that goal, a new syllabus and a series of new textbooks have been developed for the teaching and learning of English within the national general education system (Ministry of Education and Training 2015). The new syllabus is guided by the proficiency levels defined in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* or the CEFR for short (Council of Europe 2001). Students are mandated to achieve B2 level on the CEFR after Grade 12.

The basic structure of a textbook unit usually begins with a dialogue with at least one illustration followed by comprehension exercises. There then follows a forms-focused section focusing on vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. Next are skills sections covering separately four macro-skills, namely reading, speaking, listening, and writing. After this are *Communication and Culture* and *Project* sections, providing students with additional topic-related information and some practice following the question-and-answer format.

While moral education is not explicitly articulated in the syllabus document, it is implied in the last aim. However, moral education seems to be narrowly defined and somehow limited to the nationalist paradigm rather than attempting to link the local, the national and the global for the development of the students' sense of cosmopolitan citizenship. Shaaban (2005) suggests that the incorporation of moral values in

ESL/EFL classrooms can be completed first by raising the students' awareness of the values, attitudes, and standards of appropriate behavior prevailing in their immediate social environment, then by developing their capacity to critically judge those values.

6 The Study

A case study method (Duff 2008) along with descriptive content analysis is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the topic under investigation. As a qualitative research practice, the case study method raises a question about something that perplexes and challenges the mind (Merriam 1998, p. 57). In this research, the case is decided to be three course books: TIENG ANH [English] 10, TIENG ANH 11, and TIENG ANH 12 (Ministry of Education and Training 2015), which represent a 'single unit' or 'bounded system' (Duff 2008). Each book consists of ten units and four Review Lessons to be delivered within 32 weeks (4 hours per week). They are all written by Vietnamese authors, printed in Vietnam and prescribed as the core textbooks by Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training. As Cresswell (Creswell 1998, p. 65) points out, data collection in a case study involves using multiple sources as in this study; it included the pages of the coursebooks studied to capture the moral values as well as learning activities that help to develop students' moral awareness presented in the course books.

Since the thematic content makes textbooks cultural artifacts (Apple 1992), a content analysis approach (Krippendorff 2008) is more appropriate to the purpose of examining the cultural values they carry. Therefore, this method was adopted for this study. According to Weber (1990), "content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9). However, while content analysis can help to examine texts as carriers of cultural information, the approach fails to provide information about how textbooks potentially engage learners in the process of moral meaning making. In order to address this limitation, I also looked at the learning tasks to explore the moral potential that the examined textbooks can engender through learning activities. Therefore, content in this study is understood both as the texts and the accompanying learning tasks in the textbooks.

Although critical analysis has been employed by a number of researchers in examining the ideology embedded in ELT textbooks (e.g., Giaschi 2000; Taki 2008), textbook content analysis is still an under-researched field and lacks a clearly established methodology (Nicholls 2002). Pingel (2010) described two approaches to starting an analysis: either by setting a number of categories that will be followed throughout the textbooks or by reading the textbook first and at the same time deriving a list of categories that seem most prominent or salient. In this study, selecting our criteria for the analysis of the studies, we used the second approach was adopted. First, I read through all the course books under investigation without drawing upon any predetermined categories to see the whole picture of moral values in the

textbooks. Then, I read them again and created a list of moral values that were embedded in the examined course books and created a matrix of those values.

The process of data analysis first began with the content or message of the text. Then, the learning activities were examined and analyzed in terms of their possibility to engage learners with the texts to socially construct the moral meaning. The findings were discussed in light of the critical language pedagogy theory, which emphasizes that language is not just as a means for communication rather it is "a practice that constructs, and is constructed by the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future" (Norton and Toohey 2004, p. 1).

As a supplementary method to the content analysis and learning activity analysis, I conducted short interviews with four upper secondary school teachers who had experience in using the course books via email. The purpose of the interviews was to elicit teachers' views on the moral dimension of English language teaching as well as their opinions of the coverage of moral values in the course books.

7 Findings

7.1 Moral Content

It is claimed in the syllabus that a theme-based approach was adopted for the arrangement of the input for the textbooks (Ministry of Education and Training 2015). Two major themes, *Our Lives and Our Society*, represented in five topics were selected to provide the context in which four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and linguistic input (vocabulary, phonology, syntax) as well as cultural values are practiced. It is stated in the syllabus that the following themes are covered in all the three course books:

- Family
- Social Relationship
- Cultural Identity
- Environmental Issues
- Civic Education

All themes and topics are expanded throughout grades (10–12) but dealt with from different perspectives and at different levels of cognitive complexities to cater for the students' intellectual and cognitive development.

The results of the content analysis show that quite limited moral values are covered in the three examined course books, and those moral values are largely embedded in the reading texts (see Table 1).

As shown in Table 1, topics in the reading texts cover a limited number of moral values: family values, gender equality, empathy with the disadvantaged, living in harmony with the nature, and respect for cultural diversity. These are not only Vietnamese traditional values, but also universal values.

Table 1 Moral Values in Textbooks

Grade/ unit	Examples drawn from texts	Implied moral values
10/1	*In many cultures, doing housework is considered a woman's duty. The mother is usually the homemaker, who has to do most of the household chores, while the father is the breadwinner, who is responsible for the family finances. However, it is not good for the mother when the rest of the family does not help out. When families share household chores, it is good for them as individuals and good for all the relationships within the family (reading text)*	Gender roles and gender equality
10/1	*... In most Singaporean families, both parents work. Very young children go to nursery schools or stay home with a child-minder when their parents are at work. Old people usually live in their own homes or a nursing home if they cannot look after themselves.*	Family responsibilities; filial piety in different cultures
	… in most Vietnamese families, when both parents work, young children stay home and are looked after by their grandparents or great-grandparents. On the one hand, it is the duty of the young people to take care of their elderly parents. A person will be considered ungrateful if he/she does not take good care of his/her parents or grandparents.	
10/6	*On average, women work more than men, but they earn much less. I can give you some information. Women perform 66% of the world's work, produce 50% of the food, but earn 10% of the income and own 1% of the property.*	Gender equality
	In families where both parents work, for example, men and women spend about equal amounts of time working, but women still have to spend more time on housework.	
11/1	*Throughout history, there have always been conflicts between parents and their teenage children. Here are some of the main reasons and explanations.*	Generation gap
	No matter how old their teenage children are, most parents still treat them like small kids. As they try to help their children to discover the surrounding world, parents strongly believe they know what is best for their children. However, as children grow up, they want to be more independent, create their own opinions, and make their own decisions. They don't feel comfortable when their parents still keep treating them like little kids.	
11/3	*For many Americans, a parent's most important task is to teach their children to live independently. From an early age, most children get their own rooms and never sleep with their parents.*	Parental roles; respect for cultural differences.
	....Many Vietnamese parents think their most important role is to protect their children and provide them with a happy and wealthy childhood. Babies often sleep with their parents, and many children do not get to sleep in their own beds until they finish primary school.	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Grade/ unit	Examples drawn from texts	Implied moral values
11/4	*Children with disabilities are still treated unfairly and are offered fewer opportunities in life. However, they are part of our society and should be integrated in our communities. Better understanding of cognitive impairments and more contacts between non-disabled and disabled people will change attitudes and reduce discrimination in life.*	Empathy with those who are disadvantaged
12/3	*Nowadays we know a lot about the link between carbon dioxide (CO2)emissions and global warming. However, we seem to be unaware of one very dangerous pollutant, soot, also called black carbon.*	Environmental awareness
	… Large quantities of man-made soot enter the atmosphere every year. The effects are most damaging regionally, especially in south and East Asia, Latin America and parts of Africa. In developing countries, reducing soot emissions can be achieved by replacing traditional stoves with clean, alternative fuel cookers and heaters.	
12/5	*When people move to a new culture, they may react differently. Some people feel a strong urge to keep their cultural identity, so they continue to speak their language, cooking their food, wearing their traditional clothing, and celebrating their festivals. They also insist that their children and grandchildren maintain their cultural identity. On the other hand, there are people who choose to abandon their heritage culture and assimilate into the new culture of the majority.*	Preserving one's own cultural identity; developing intercultural attitudes
	Yet, there are people who integrate into the new cultural environment while keeping their own cultural identity and flexibly adjusting to the different aspects of the new culture.	

7.2 Learning Activities

Regarding the learning activities promoted in the textbooks, they appear to emphasise students' mechanical practice of the target linguistic structure, rather than the empowerment of the students by encouraging them to raise their voice about the topic in question through critical discussion. All the reading texts are followed by the same question-answer format to check the students' comprehension of the in-text factual information only. For example, in Unit 1 (Grade 10), following the text on gender role and gender equality, students are given seven multiple-choice questions on word-meaning, four display questions that require short answers about the text. This is followed by two questions (*Do you have any problems with sharing housework?; What benefits do you get when sharing housework?*) for the students to discuss with their partner. Below are the speaking activities related to the topic 'Cultural identity' (Unit 5, Grade 12, p. 63):

Activity 1. Work with a partner. Discuss and decide if activities (1–4) can help people maintain their cultural identity. Match each of them with its reasons (a–d).

Activities	Reasons
1. Preserving native language	(a) Represents national identities; reflects climatic conditions
2. Wearing traditional holidays	(b) Gives big appetites and adequate nutrition; strengthens cultural ties
3. Celebrating traditional holidays	(c) Develops intellectual abilities; shapes cultural identity
4. Eating traditional food	(d) Offers a sense of being rooted in native culture; brings people together

Activity 2. Use ideas in 1 to fill each of the numbered spaces in the following conversation. Then practice it in groups of three.

A: What do think people should do to maintain cultural identity in the age of globalization?
B: I believe they should (1) ……..
C: That's true. Language is a vital part of culture and critical to a person's (2) ……..
A: Yes, It enables people to communicate, establish links with family and community members, and acquire and value their native culture.
B: I can't agree more. It is said that people's first language helps them (3) …….. and (4) ……..
C: That's absolute correct. Do you have anything else to add?

Activity 3. Have a similar conversation discussing what you should do to maintain cultural identity in the age of glovalization.

Occasionally, there are activities that require the students to think of action needed to solve a particular problem in the real life. Unfortunately, instead of telling the students to think of their own action independently, action is given to them, and all they have to do is just to match the given action with the given problem. For example, in Unit 4 (Grade 11, p. 53) in the Writing Unit, the students are expected to do this activity.

Instruction: Choose one of the following problems and write an article of 160–180 words, using the outline given. You can use the suggestions below.

Problem	Solution
Many students with visual impairments in regular schools; cannot fully participate in school activities; often left behind	Specialized materials and tools such as braille or large print books, and talking computers; Become part of study group; create atmosphere of friendliness, respect and acceptance during all activities
No pedestrian facilities for people with visual impairments in my neighbourhood	Traffic lights with audible 'beeping' signals Different types of ground surfaces to indicate where the road starts

When asked whether English language teachers should be concerned about moral education, all four interviewed teachers were unanimously positive. They all argued helping students to develop their moral values was part of teachers' responsibility regardless of their subject. Regarding their views on the moral values to be integrated in the English language materials, they said that both Vietnamese values and universal values were necessary to prepare the students for their future intercultural communication. They viewed such values as politeness, generosity, tolerance, honesty, and family value. One of the teachers commented,

> I think universal moral values should be primarily emphasized because the students need to learn English as a global language. However, I do not mean that Vietnamese moral values are not necessary, but we shouldn't be so extremist. Vietnamese moral values are also integrated in other school subjects, for example the Moral Education subject or the Civic Education subject.

However, they all agreed that the in-use course books did not cover many moral values, and these values were not explicitly presented.

8 Discussion

The findings of the content analysis indicate that a certain number of moral values are embedded in the reading texts of the textbooks for Vietnamese high school students. These values are largely part of Vietnamese moral values system while universal moral values such as honesty, peace-loving, and cultural tolerance are also presented. It can be inferred from these results that morality was considered while the texts were selected. Although the moral values are thinly presented, they can be among the most fundamental Vietnamese and universal values. According to Shaaban (2005), it is not necessary that all topics and content used to teach in an EFL program are related to moral education.

While the coverage of the moral values was relatively comprehensive, the learning activities appear to be problematic from the critical pedagogy perspective in English language education. As revealed in the examples of learning activities presented above, the textbooks overemphasise the acquisition of linguistic knowledge such as grammar and vocabulary as well as the development of communicative competence while paying inadequate attention to the students' personal and social life (Norton and Toohey 2004; Pennycook 1990). Both the language-based and communication-based activities presented in the textbooks fail to take learners beyond the level of relatively passive acceptance of norms to the point at which they can act as reflective moral agents capable of making informed decisions and justifying the principles that guide such decisions. Rarely are there learning activities that engage students in reading, writing, observing, debating, role play, simulations, and the use of statistical data to develop skills in critical thinking, decision making, and problem solving. Put differently, most of the learning activities in the textbooks are only targeted at the exchange of messages at the expense of issues of students' voice and identity.

Mullins (1990, p. 4) recommends active learning as ideal for teaching topics like civic and moral education:

> The passive transmission of facts is rejected as an inappropriate method of teaching that should be modified in favor of active approaches to learning. Students are to engage in reading, writing, observing, debating, role play, simulations, and the use of statistical data to develop skills in critical thinking, decision making, and problem solving. Cooperative and collaborative types of learning are also emphasized.

Critical approaches to ELT argue that apart from fulfilling the basic need for learners to develop enough language to transmit messages, there is little present to encourage learners (and teachers) to think critically. Nor is there sufficient consideration of why we are teaching and what society we are teaching for (Gray 2013; Pennycook 1990). This is true of the learning activities in the locally produced English textbooks for Vietnamese upper secondary schools.

To address the limitations regarding the learning activities in the Vietnam-produced English textbooks, I would suggest a critical culturally sensitive pedagogy, which "prepare[s] learners to be both global and local speakers of English and to feel at home in both international and national cultures" (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996, p. 211). Such an approach does not see critical thinking, rationality, and moral education as an automatic and natural by-product of foreign language learning. Instead, it focuses on developing students' linguistic proficiency, critical thinking, moral education, and rationality so that language acquisition, language use and the worldviews, ideologies, and other kinds of knowledge are inculcated in activities along with language. Following this approach, textbooks should provide learning activities that "generate discussions and arguments which are essential for the development of critical thinking skills as well as positive character traits (Shaaban 2005, p. 204)." Activities of this type would enable the students to identify "language as a scene of struggle, where the world is always/already in the word" (Pennycook 1990, p. 21). In a context where the textbook's knowledge is considered to be authoritatively valid like Vietnam, the absence of activities that encourage critical awareness in the course book is likely to lead students to accept passively their places in society rather than to take a more active role in determining their experiences and their positions within society in order to transform the society (Akbari 2008; Canagarajah 1999, 2005).

The interview data showed that teachers were aware of the moral nature of teaching (Johnston and Buzzelli 2008), and they considered moral education as part of their responsibility as educators. The question that is not answered in this study is whether or not teachers actually raised students' critical awareness (Pessoa and Freitas 2012) in their classrooms through activities that help students to (re)construct their moral identities. However, it is speculated that the answer to that question is negative. This is because a great majority of EFL teachers in Vietnamese secondary schools find it hard to change their mindset of teaching the book rather than the students despite recent attempt by the Ministry of Education and Training to encourage teachers to adapt the mandated textbooks to their specific contexts.

Another problem of the examined course books from the critical pedagogy is that the text content largely depicts life as too beautiful, peaceful and perfect without any problems or concerns and people leading a care-free life, everyone being nice to everyone else (Osborn 2006; Smith 2007). The dark side of the life (Rinvolucri 1999) has completely been ignored. Many moral issues of the Vietnamese contemporary society such as academic misbehaviours, dishonesty, drug addiction and selfishness as well as universal moral issues such as terrorism, the gap between the rich and the poor, gender inequality and so on are absent in the textbooks. The inclusion of those themes in the coursebook would help to invoke students' critical discussion and analysis (Rashidi and Safari 2011) because they are derived from the students' real life situations, needs, and interests.

It appears that the traditional means-to-ends orientation which views language teaching and learning as instrumental with a focus solely on skills building and students' fluency in linguistic transactions (Baurain 2011) remains influential in English language education in Vietnam. Such a paradigm is neither in line with the tenets of critical pedagogy in ELT nor adequate to encompass moral dimensions inherent in language education and fails to empower learners to construct and reconstruct their moral identity (Norton and Toohey 2004) so that they can function responsibly and efficiently in a multicultural, interdependent world as defined in the blueprint for foreign language education in Vietnam in the twenty-first century (Government of Vitenam 2008).

Findings of this study also imply that despite the calls for greater attention to the moral dimensions of second language education, such calls remain basically rhetoric, and moral values have not received the attention they deserve from both textbook writers and classroom teachers.

9 Conclusion

The world in which we are living is being faced with numerous moral concerns such as terrorism, migration, ethnic nationalism, environmental deterioration, climate change, widening gap between the rich and the poor, and others. As Brigg and Bleiker (2011, p. 1) observe, "From global terrorism to local community conflicts, cultural difference is widely invoked in conflicts that beset today's word." In such a world, it would be morally wrong if English language educators and textbook writers did not recognize those problems and showed no moral responsibility to the society. This study, to the best of our knowledge, is the first attempt to explore the moral values embedded in Vietnam-produced EFL textbooks. The findings of the study show the inadequacy of both the teaching content and the learning activities in developing the learners' moral identity and global citizenship. While both Vietnamese and universal values such as basic social values and attitudes, societal duties and responsibilities, love for nature, and respect for cultural diversity are represented in the textbooks, the extent is quite limited. The textbook writers seem to avoid deliberately controversial topics such as family violence, cheating in

examination, drug addiction, unemployment, and corruption, which are great concerns in Vietnamese public discourses and the possible solution to those problems. The treatment of the presented moral values is not adequate either since the learning tasks fail to develop critical thinking skills that enable them to figure out what to believe in a variety of contexts and to construct counter arguments and alternative hypotheses.

In light of recent critical orientation in English language teaching, this chapter highlights the need to relate the classroom context to the wider social context with a focus on social transformation through language education. In this sense, textbooks should provide students with the opportunity to engage with a range of fascinating, complex, provocative, and controversial moral issues which concerns the way in which they live and the society they live in. Put differently, English language education should be re-oriented towards two major outcomes: social transformation and language skills development (Rashidi and Safari 2011). This re-orientation is to ensure that the teaching of English is to educate the future rather than to repeat the past.

Given the popularity and the pivotal role of textbooks, the role of textbooks cannot be ignored. Textbooks that can "prompt learners to confront some of the taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about the Self and the Other (Kumaravadivelu 2008, p. 189) have the potential influence to the dynamic construction of students' moral identities and the development of their "intercultural citizenship" (Byram 2011, pp. 11–12) more than mere development of target language proficiency. Towards those goals, textbooks should include problem-posing and problem-raising activities that encourage the students to "expose their subjectivities in order to understand what is going on around the topic in focus as well as to execute actions so as to construct their personal and collective meanings around the discussions proposed in the classroom" (Pessoa and Freitas 2012, p. 756). By engaging in those activities, the students not only develop their linguistic proficiency but also broaden or change their points of view on different moral issues and moral values that help to guide them to act upon the world. However, the challenges are that both national and international publishers are very unlikely to produce ELT textbooks of critical orientations. To cope with these challenges, teachers need to be encouraged and empowered to produce their own supplementary materials of critical orientations tuned to mandated or prescribed textbooks (Crookes 2009).

Regarding the research method, the content analysis method used in this study suffers from the weaknesses of being disconnected from the context in which the textbooks are presented – the classroom – and can take no account of the learners' and teachers' reactions to, and adaptations/subversions of, the textbooks to truly gauge their impact. However, what is significant about this study is that it provides evidence that moral values remain thinly and implicitly presented in Vietnam-generated EFL textbooks. Therefore, the study raises awareness among textbook writers and classroom teachers of the importance of morality in English language education and that the technical and instrumental perspective on English language education is no longer adequate to empower learners to develop a sense of critical consciousness of moral issues in their social milieu while improving their English

language skills. In order to have a more comprehensive picture of the issue of morality, ethnographic studies are needed to unmask teachers' and students' beliefs and practices regarding moral issues in the textbooks in particular and in English language education in general.

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A Critical Micro-semiotic Analysis of Values Depicted in the Indonesian Ministry of National Education-Endorsed Secondary School English Textbook

Handoyo Puji Widodo

Abstract While the inclusion of moral education (character education) in English language teaching (ELT) globally receives considerable attention, evaluating ELT textbooks as a moral/character agent remains under-examined since such textbooks are assumed to be value-free (Gebregeorgis MY. Afr Educ Rev 13:119–140, 2016a; Gray J. Appl Linguist 31:714–733, 2010). Informed by critical systemic functional linguistics (Fairclough N, Discourse and social change. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, 1992; Halliday MAK. Language as social semiotic. Edward Arnold, London, 1978; Kress G, van Leeuwen T. Reading images: the grammar of visual design (2nd edn). New York, Routledge, 2006), I contend that language textbooks should be viewed as sociocultural artifacts that feature particular moral values or character virtues. To fill this need, this critical micro-semiotic discourse study examines in what ways values are portrayed in one Indonesian Ministry of National Education-approved secondary school English textbook, which deploys various lexico-grammatical and discursive resources. This critical analysis reveals that visual artifacts and verbal texts with different genres in the textbook represent a myriad of values of which both teachers and students need to become aware. The implication of this study suggests that both teachers and students need to equip with skills in critical thinking and reading as well as in critical language awareness analysis. Both teachers and students should have the opportunity to engage critically with textbooks as a value agent, for instance.

Keywords Critical discourse analysis • English textbooks • Systemic functional linguistics • Values

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1 Introduction

In most cases, educational policies have an impact on the production of curriculum materials, such as textbooks. Textbooks as silent partners (Orton 2010) shape interaction between students, a teacher, and instructional tools. This educational artifact is also called a structured and enacted curriculum that guides instructional activities and tasks on which both students and teacher work. From a critical perspective, textbooks are viewed as "ideological message systems for transmitting dominant values and beliefs of society" (Opoku-Amankwa et al. 2011, p. 293). This curricular text is not simply a curriculum document but a social and cultural artifact (Gray 2010; Xiong 2012), which features particular beliefs, culturally appropriate values, socially accepted norms, and ideologies either overtly or covertly portrayed in such curriculum artifacts, and they function to impose such things on learners (Curdt-Christiansen 2008; Gebregeorgis 2016a). Ndura (2004) reiterates that "[i]nstructional materials play the role of cultural mediators as they transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions and images" (p. 143). This implies that textbooks are an instructional guide that helps learners engage with these value-laden texts in order to expect them to learn the appropriate ways of thinking, behaving, doing, valuing, and being in the world.

Thus, instructional textbooks always bring a baggage of values that both teachers and learners may be (un)aware of (Gebregeorgis 2016b). This value can be visually and verbally represented or discursively constructed in ELT textbooks, for instance. In this chapter, values embrace cultural and moral beliefs, social norms, and conventions that society members hold. In order to unpack these values in ELT textbooks, I argue that a critical micro-semiotic analysis of textbooks would give a broader and more detailed description of value discourses constructed in the textbooks. Additionally, to date, there is no or little investigative effort examining values in Indonesia's secondary school English textbook(s) from a critical micro-semiotic perspective. For this reason, I would like to contribute to a better understanding of in what ways values are discursively represented in this textbook so that teachers and students gain heightened awareness that any texts in textbooks contain particular values drawn from a larger sociocultural context. In this respect, both students and teachers play roles as textbook assessors who see any English textbooks as both knowledge and value agents.

The present chapter is structured as follows. First, it touches on value or character education in Indonesia's educational landscape. It moves on to present previous textual studies on English textbooks from moral or value perspectives. Then, I would like to present methodological consideration and discussion. Both pedagogical and empirical implications are also presented to furnish language teachers with insight into pedagogical values of this analysis. Drawing on this implication, language researchers interested in closer textual investigation into English textbooks can extend this scholarship. The outcome of this textual analysis can be a catalyst for designing value-based language materials locally situated in particular educational contexts.

2 Character Education in Indonesia

At the outset, it is important to define character and character education. Shumer et al. (2012, p. 43) argue that "Character" must be comprehensively defined to include thinking, feeling and behavior." When character is situated in an educational curriculum, character education is an attempt to instill in students important core values or virtues through the implementation of a school curriculum, for instance. These core virtues can take the form of cultural beliefs and knowledge, which may contain moral values, such as diligence, respect for authority, modesty, tolerance, and honesty (Liu 2005). These beliefs, values, and ideologies are socio-historically and socioculturally constructed (Gu 2016).

The cultivation of character or moral values is one of the educational goals (Lovat 2017). Character education acknowledges the existence of good and bad behavior and ethical choices. For example, in Indonesia, the character education policy enacted in 2011 penetrates all school subjects (Mambu 2015). In this respect, character education should be integrated explicitly into all school subjects including English. Though value-based education in ELT is not a new enterprise, the Indonesian Government would like to emphasize that value education is included in school subject curricula so that learners can inculcate character virtues or moral values (Qoyyimah 2016). This implies that textbooks, one of the curriculum artifacts, serve as a silent agent of moral or value education because both teachers and learners interact with this pedagogical artifact. In short, textbooks are not neutral but value-laden and socio-historically constructed to meet policy goals.

To understand the issue of character education in Indonesia, readers have to be privy to the sociocultural and political landscape of Indonesia. Indonesia is a home to diverse cultures (norms and traditions), ethnic groups, and religions (Widodo and Fardhani 2011). Indonesia officially recognizes such religions as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddism, and Khonghucu (Confucianism). It also gives Indonesian citizens freedom to follow other faiths as long as they respect other faiths and religions. These different religious beliefs guide moral reasoning (knowing), feeling, and behavior (doing). Indonesian citizens with different religious beliefs hold different values. Aside from these religious beliefs, Indonesia also has different values historically, culturally, and socially anchored in ethnic traditions. For instance, Sundanese people hold different moral values from the Balinese do. For example, the value of *Gotong Royong* (working together) has a different meaning among ethnic groups (*Gugur Gunung* [working together to build public facilities] in Yogyakarta*, Song-Osong Lombhung* [working together to harvest salt among salt farmers] in Madura, *Ngayah* [working together for religious rituals] in Bali). Each of the ethnic groups in Indonesia also engages in different social practices guided by particular cultural values. For example, on Java, people have *Slametan* (the communal feast) along with prayer geared to celebrate "life cycle events, such as births, circumcisions, weddings, and deaths" (Newberry 2007, p. 1309). In this social practice, host families invite neighbors and close kins/relatives to attend this feast.

In other words, Indonesian cultures are an amalgam of different ethnic cultures and religious identities.

In the educational landscape, one of the educational goals spelled out in Indonesia's educational policy and curriculum documents is to cultivate students' character virtues and moral values. This character education is part of the primary and secondary school curricula (Qoyyimah 2016). Along with this new paradigm, all schools have to incorporate character education into all school subjects. This has been implemented in school since mid 2011 (Pusat Kurikulum 2010). The Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia allows schools to manage and choose how character education is integrated into particular school subjects (Suparno 2011). Character education is the core of a school curriculum aiming to educate socially responsible pupils and students. The goals of character education (Pusat Kurikulum 2010) are to:

1. capitalize on student's potential and teach students to behave morally, culturally, and ethically, thereby representing the nation's culture and character;
2. strengthen national education that assumes social responsibility for harnessing student's talent and capability; and
3. re-appropriate the nation's cultures and other cultures, which suit the nation's civilized cultural values and virtues.

Character traits or virtues that teachers need to incorporate into school subjects embrace (1) religiosity, (2) honesty, (3) tolerance, (4) self-discipline, (5) hard work, (6) creativity, (7) independence, (8) democracy, (9) curiosity, (10) patriotism, (11) nationalism, (12) respect for others, (13) friendliness, (14) peace-loving, (15) love to read, (16) environmental sensitivity, (17) social awareness, and (18) responsibility (Pusat Kurikulum 2010). Each school can add more character virtues to school subjects based on these psychological and sociocultural principles, including: (1) spiritual & emotional development, (2) intellectual or cognitive development, (3) physical & kinesthetic development, and (4) affective and creative development (Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan 2011). These values can be implemented through routine teaching practices, spontaneous behaviors, and extracurricular activities (e.g., Scouting, Indonesian Red Cross clubs).

Given this policy, English language teaching (ELT) is no exception to the inclusion of character education. In ELT, teachers need to integrate character virtues as spelled out in the guidelines for the implementation of character education and the English language curriculum adopting a genre-based approach (Widodo 2016). They can select topics or themes, text types, and learning tasks, which contain virtues both explicitly and implicitly. For example, a teacher may teach a narrative text using "Kancil dan Timun" [Rabbit and Cucumbers], one of the most prominent Indonesian's fables. The teacher and students can discuss character traits and moral values in the story. Teachers can also provide students with a variety of texts that expose students to different character virtues and moral values. For example, corporate vision and mission genres can be used to learn character values. To exploit these traits and values, students need to grasp the text at the outset. Certainly, the teacher can provide step-by-step scaffolding from integrated genre-based language learning

tasks to character-driven language tasks (Widodo 2015). After the students have understood the text, the teacher can discuss the character virtues and moral values in depth. She or he can use open-ended questions and text-based discussion so that the students can engage in character-driven language learning tasks. Certainly, teachers can present and discuss different character virtues and moral values from different texts with different text types, such as information reports, descriptions, explanation, and argumentation and with different genres, such as corporate websites, children stories, and biographies. This text-based instruction can lead to critical thinking, language awareness, and values awareness (Widodo 2015).

3 Values Education in ELT Textbooks

Because of the inclusion of character education in English as a school subject, teachers need to explore more ELT practices, which facilitate students to learn character virtues and moral values in spoken, written, and visual texts (multimodal texts). One of the ways to do this is through the incorporation of character virtues into ELT textbooks. For this reason, textbooks can be a vehicle for channeling the teaching of values in all school subjects. These values can be manifested through texts, tasks (instructional prompts), and images (visuals). Texts, tasks, and images actively contruct a particular value of social practices.

There is a considerable body of studies, specifically investigating moral and character education in the area of English language pedagogies. In particular, many studies investigated cultural values or content in ELT textbooks around the world (see Dinh and Sharifian 2017; Gebregeorgis 2016a, b; Zia Tajeddin and Shohreh Teimournezhad 2015). To some extent, this cultural content is associated with moral values (e.g., hospitability and friendly behavior, respect for and being grateful to parents). This cultural content can take the form of perspectives, products, practices, and people (Yuen 2011). A few studies directly address how both cultural and moral values are represented in such curriculum artifacts.

For example, Lee (2009) examined sociocultural values and norms (e.g., freedom, hard work, equality) discursively depicted in 11 high school EFL conversation textbooks used in Korea. The findings of this study suggest the inclusion of different sociocultural values and norms in English textbooks so that learners have an enhanced awareness and knowledge of how people of different gender, age, religion and socio-economic status hold specific sociocultural norms and values.

Ma (2012) examined the extent to which the 'emotion and attitude' domain is discursively constructed in a Chinese primary school English textbook dictated by the new English language curriculum of China. She reported that even though the target objectives of the domain are manifested through a range of affect-related activities in the textbook, the language of the textbook is relatively emotion-free. The author also revealed that only a few of the recommended teaching strategies in the accompanying teacher's guide reflect the strategies stipulated in the syllabus in order to develop positive affective factors.

Xiong (2012) uncovered cultural and moral discourses discursively portrayed in China-produced English textbooks. Using critical discourse analysis, he found that these textbooks, to some extent, contain dominant cultural and moral messages contested and resisted by competing discourses, such as perseverance and willpower versus natural aptitudes discourses and submission versus liberty discourses. These discourses are discursively represented through a myriad of generic and discoursive patterns, rhetorical strategies, lexical and grammatical choices, and images. These findings call for critical reading and critical pedagogy in order to unpack cultural and moral ideologies.

The most recent study by Gebregeorgis (2016b) investigated peace values depicted in English for Ethiopia Student Textbook Grade 9. It specifically looked at the content and activities of the textbook. By drawing on textual, contextual and sociological discourse analyses, it was found that the textbook mainly featured a positive self-concept, good health and compassion, tolerance, solidarity, social responsibility, respect for life in all its forms, and care for the environment (peace with nature). Despite the portrayal of these peace values, some activities and content of the textbook depicted gendered stereotyping and prejudice contradicting the peace value of equality. This study suggests some improvement in the areas of content and activities in the textbook so that this curriculum artifact does promote peace values.

These previous studies evidently regard moral or character education as an important element of the English curriculum. A textbook as a curriculum artifact canalizes a baggage of cultural and moral values that both teachers and students need to be aware of. The critical evaluation of textbooks is one of the ways to examine moral and cultural values particularly in ELT textbooks. As textbook evaluators, both teachers and students play a role as critical textbook users because they engage with the actual use of textbooks.

4 The Study

This study falls within the scope of critical discourse analysis because it examines character discourses of textbooks. A textbook is a curriculum or educational genre that contains a myriad of moral and cultural values that teachers and students of which may or may not be aware. These values have different meanings. In this study, one textbook, “Pathway To English For Senior High School Grade X” (General Programme) by M. Sudarwati and Eudia Grace was selected for a more in-depth analysis based on the following criteria:

1. one of the features of the textbook in the blurb emphasizes character building, that is, “exposing students to various moral values;”
2. this textbook is nationally adopted because this textbook is endorsed by the Indonesian Ministry of National Education;
3. this textbook is the manifestation of macro politico-educational forces in which the ministry of national education plays a role as an agent of such forces;

4. the textbook was written based on the 2013 Curriculum guidelines that stipulate the inclusion of character education and discourse competence in English curricula including English textbooks; The 2013 English Language Curriculum is the revised edition of the 2006 English Language Curriculum. It was enacted in mid 2013;
5. the English textbook for Grade X was selected because it contains learning exercises and activities, but the English textbook for Grade XII was excluded because the content of the textbook emphasizes test-driven exercises; another Textbook for Grade XI was not subject to analysis because it has the same pattern but different themes;
6. one of the core competences in the chosen textbook includes understanding moral values and attitudes in the introduction part and the enclosed syllabus in the textbook;
7. Penerbit Erlangga (Erlangga Press) is a major publishing outlet in Indonesia in which it regularly publishes school textbooks, and it is nationally accredited; and
8. the textbook was written by Indonesian writers who understand the context of ELT in Indonesia.

Because the chosen textbook is not just a curriculum document but also a cultural text, critical discourse analysis (CDA) best demystifies how such a text represents and constructs social reality contextually tied to a specific ideological (value) system through covert messages based on what is said and left unsaid. Additionally, CDA uncovers how this ideological system is (re)constructed by texts and social practices that (dis)privilege particular values in society (de los Heros 2009). For this reason, anchored in Halliday's (1978) systemic functional linguistics (SFL), a lexico-grammatical analysis as a micro language analysis is particularly used to examine values through the choices of linguistic and visual elements in a discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). This SFL-informed language appraisal (Martin and White 2005) examines language use (e.g., language choices) in relation to its functionality within the social world or to social practices. These micro-level linguistic choices at the lexico-grammatical level have long been a key procedure for demystifying positions and values (Fairclough 1992, 1995; de los Heros 2009). These positions and values represent attitudinal discourses overtly or covertly encapsulated in cultural artifacts, such as school textbooks. These attitudinal discourses (Martin and White 2005) include affect (emotions: un/happiness, dis/satisfaction, in/security), judgment (social qualities: social esteem and social sanction), and appreciation (aesthetic qualities: reaction and composition). These attitudinal discourses can take the form of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs coherently constructed in texts. The present study provides a documentation of what and how the chosen textbook explicitly and implicitly portrays character virtues and moral values. Practically, for a thorough analysis, I selected a few of representative texts that contain values in the textbook. I, then, examined these texts to illustrate how some of the values are discursively represented in this curriculum document. Emotion, judgment, and appreciation systems (Martin and White 2005) were used to uncover such values.

5 Analysis and Discussion

In the selected textbook, a myriad of texts are both visually and verbally represented. The focus of this textbook analysis is placed on hidden values that both teachers and students need to be aware of. It is important to note that in the textbook, *Pathway to English for Senior High School Grade X*, is accompanied with the official syllabus. This syllabus spells out such values as politeness (social awareness), care (social awareness), sincerity, sympathy (social awareness), responsiveness (social awareness), love to read, peace-loving, honesty, self-esteem, nationalism, tolerance, struggle (hard work), responsibility, self-discipline, patriotism, and respect for others in each of the lesson units. The selection of these values is based on the Indonesian Ministry of National Education guidelines for character education (Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan 2011). In other words, most of these values are officially recommended in the national character education guidelines. This suggests that the textbook writers attempt to translate the inclusion of character education policy into a curriculum document, a textbook. The writers also include more values, such as sincerity and self-esteem, which are not listed in the guidelines. The official curriculum allows teachers to include more values that they consider important to learn. The following analysis focuses on in what ways values are visually and verbally depicted in the textbook. Due to space limitations, some texts were selected based on lesson topics or themes, analyzed, and discussed. In this chapter, the bold and underlined words and phrases of the text serve as the units of analysis at a lexico-grammatical level.

5.1 Visual Representation of Values

In the textbook, the writers present particular values through a series of visual depictions. Visually, pictures and photographs as well as other visual artifacts (e.g., graphs, diagrams, and icons) represent values that both teachers and students need to realize. These visual artifacts, such as pictures, photographs, and diagram trees portray particular values that both teachers and students may go unnoticed or take for granted. Uncovering these values is intended to build and enhance teacher and student awareness of values represented in the textbook because the textbook is a value-laden curriculum document, and it is a silent partner that depicts legitimized or dominant values that certain societies hold. For this study, the selected textbook portrays visual representations of certain values as listed below. It is important to bear in mind that only visual presentations that are relevant to lesson themes were selected for a corpus of value discourses and for in-depth analysis due to space limitations.

Table 1 shows that visual artifacts portray a variety of values that both teachers and students can learn and discuss in order to build and enhance awareness of values that the textbook writers promote. In other words, the use of visual texts provides

Table 1 The Portrayal of Values in the Textbook, *Pathway to English for Senior High School Grade X*

Unit	Theme	Visual Artifact	Description	Location/Page	Values
N/A	N/A	Book cover	Two images depict college students who are happily **reading together**. They seem to sit on the campus grounds. They enjoy **learning together** (*The students smile*)	Book cover	Collaborative learning or learning together
					Outdoor or independent learning
					Enthusiasm for learning
1	All about me	Family tree/ pedigree tree	This family tree displays **genealogical information** on a **family relationship** of one figure, who is **smith** (smith family). It is presented with the oldest generation at the top. Smith has a son (**Collin**) and a daughter (**Ann**). **Ann**, a dentist, is married to a journalist. **Collin**, a policeman, is married to **Jennifer**, a typist. **Ann** got two children (boy and girl), and **Collin** has three children (one boy and two girls).	p. 15	Nuclear family
					Parents' preferences for sex of chilren (boy and girl)
					Family bonding
					Pursuing higher education
					Collar or professional occupation (specialty-based jobs)
2	Well done	N/A	No pictures and photographs discursively visualize values.	N/A	N/A
3	Are you OK?	Social awareness	Only four photographs show values of **care** and **sympathy**. Both are categorized into the value of **social awareness**. Other visual artifacts do not saliently display relevant values as stipulated in the textbook syllabus and beyond.	pp. 52–54, 55	Care (social awareness)
					Sympathy(social awareness)
4	I will improve my English	Learning English	Only two photographs depict **two actors**, a native speaker of English and a non-native speaker of English, who are happily learning English together (*The two actors smile*). **The former** seems to guide or mentor **the latter**.	pp. 71 & 72	Native speaker as a role model (native speakerism)
					Learning together
					Enthusiasm for learning
5	Congratulations	Graduation	Two photographs feature **female and male graduates** wearing gowns. **They** look happy about their accomplishment.	p. 96	Pursuing higher education
					Hard work
					Love to read
					Responsibility
					Self-discipline
					Independence

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Unit	Theme	Visual Artifact	Description	Location/Page	Values
6	I've been there	N/A	No pictures and photographs discursively show salient values such as patriotism, nationalism, and respect for other cultures as the writers claim in one of the lesson unit goals.	p. 206	N/A
7	Describing people	Collar occupation	Six photographs feature **collar jobs**.	pp. 131, 134, 135, 136, 140	Pursuing higher education
					Hard work
					Love to read
					Responsibility
					Self-discipline
					Independence
					Specialty-based work
8	Describing places	World/local heritage sites	20 photographs depict **world and local heritage sites**, such as the Great Wall, the statue of liberty, the pyramid, Taman mini Indonesia Indah, and the Borobudur temple.	Pp. 149, 150–51, 152, 153, 154, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173	Cultural identity
					National or local pride
					Cultural tourism
					Monumental creativity
					Nationalism
9	It'is missing	N/A	No pictures and photographs discursively portray such a salient value as responsibility as the authors claim in one of the lesson unit goals.	N/A	N/A

10	A time in a life	National figures	Four photographs feature four **famous figures**, such as Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Mother Teresa, and Raden Ajeng Kartini.	p. 193	Leadership
					Nationalism
					Patriotism
					Humanism
					Generosity
					Charity
					Altruism
					Perseverance
					Dignity
					Peacemaking
					Selfless caring
					Bravery
					Strength
11	A long time ago	Not identified	In the last lesson unit/chapter, 11, values in stories were not analyzed because the writers and teachers assume that **narrative texts** are **textual resources** for teaching **values**. In fact, other text types can depict values that teachers and students can learn as presented in the following texts.	Not analyzed	Not analyzed

both teachers and students with the opportunity to discuss hidden values in the textbook. For example, in Lesson Unit or Chapter # 1, the family tree seems to be value-free, but it shows the value of two-parent families because in the pedigree tree, both Smith and his daughter are living in the same household. In the Indonesian family context, having two-parent families is more valued than one-parent families because a couple needs to maintain their marital relationships while bearing their children until they get old. In this social system, children are supposed to live with two parents although in some case, Indonesian children live with one parent because of divorce, a preference for single parenting, and spousal mortality. In terms of the number of chidren in one family, Smith got two children, and so does his daughter. This indicates a nuclear family. His son can be categorized into a nuclear family because he has three children. The number of children in a family imposes the reader on the value of a nuclear family. A nuclear family is part of the family planning program that aims to control population and stabilize population growth. In Indonesia, this family planning has been a government program since 1970s in order to improve family health and welfare, control a birth rate and population growth, and reduce reproductive problems. Additionally, having children whose gender is a boy and a girl represents parents' preferences for mixed-sex chidren. In some case, Indonesian couples do not have any preference for sex of children. In the Indonesian family structure context, parents' preferences for sex of children affects parents' happiness (Palloni 2017), but this is not always the case depending on particular cultural and institutional values as well as individual tastes (e.g., Indonesian parents have no maternal gender preferences).

From an occupational perspective, in the Smith family, the use of a lexical item, *retired*, indicates collar occupation. This implies that they got pension benefit-based collar occupation. In the Indonesian context, both government and non-government professional sectors offer pension benefits. This implies that senior high student readers should envision occupation that offers pension benefits. In Indonesian society's larger social system, pension benefit-based employment is more valued than labour work. Smith's daughter, son, daughter in law, and son in law are professionals. This lexical evidence demonstrates that the Smith family values collar occupation. In order to get this collar occupation (policeman in exception), pursuing higher education is needed. For example, Ann is a dentist, a white collar occupation that requires a specialist higher education degree. Another example is a typist that is referred to a professional secretary. This occupation requires a higher education degree in the Indonesian context. Thus, the discourse of the family tree encourages textbook readers, senior high school students, to envision nuclear family, higher education, and collar occupation. The text of the family tree not merely shows a family relationship but also represents family bonding. This family bonding emphasizes the importance of having a family. Thus, the family tree discursively represents different values that teachers and students need to recognize.

In Lesson Unit 8, the textbook presents photographs of world and local heritage sites (e.g., the Borobudur Temple, the Statue of Liberty, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah). These sites are part of social and cultural geography that represents cultural identity, national pride, cultural tourism, monumental creativity, and nationalism,

for example. World and local heritage sites are not just architectural buildings situated in particular geographical locations, but they are sociocultural landscapes, which provide "symbolic and economic sustenance, meaning and dignity to human lives" (Assi 2012, p. 322). Heritage sites are a cultural icon that portrays monumental creativity that ancestors have treasured and preserved over time. This human-built treasure is national pride that can provide cultural and economic benefits through cultural tourism activities. Heritage sites are also associated with nationalism because they are part of nation's treasure that represents an identity of a nation. In the textbook, the writers also present world heritage sites from other countries. This can help readers understand the wealth of other cultures and other people. This depiction can open the door to intercultural dialog or discussion between students and their peers and between a teacher and students. In addition, the romanticization of heritage sites provides a historical portrayal of how ancestors built such sites. These historical values give meaning to the importance of preserving heritage sites including buildings in order to respect the human rights of ancestors. Heritage sites also showcase an architectural creativity of ancestors (e.g., the Borobudur Temple). This fact shows a modern civilization of ancestors. For this reason, archaeological monuments (e.g., The Statue of Liberty that voices human rights) and sites (e.g., Taman Mini Indonesia Indah that represents cultural and ethnic diversity in Indonesia) should be preserved. In short, photographs of world and local heritage sites visually portray a variety of values that teachers and students glean from different perspectives, such as local culture, identity, and human rights.

In the last unit of the textbook, the writers feature four famous figures, such as Soekarno or Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta, Mother Teresa, and Raden Ajeng Kartini through photographic presentation. Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta, the first president and vice president of Indonesia (1949–1967) are known as charismatic nationalist leaders who fought for the Independence of Indonesia colonized by the Dutch from 1602 (Palmowski 2008). Another national figure, Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879–1904) is a national heroine who fought for gender equity (female education) in the history of the Indonesian Struggle (Afrianty 2015; Robinson and Bessell 2002). For this reason, she is widely acclaimed as the icon of aspirations of Indonesian women and women's empowerment in Indonesia (Drakeley 2005). Another figure, Mother Teresa (1910–1997), is famous for a Catholic nun and missionary who helped the sick and disadvantaged as well as a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (see http://www.motherteresa.org/layout.html).

The visual texts (close-up photographs) of the four international and national famous figures above represent biographical information on people. A biography is a narrative genre that depicts person's life, and it represents a person's story, which provides insight into the meaning of an individual's lived experience. Biographic texts are a rich source of values because this genre discursively portrays values attached to people. Additionally, this visual text evokes a question or an inquiry (e.g., who are these figures?) if the reader is unfamiliar with these figures. This inquiry leads the reader to learn about these people. In other words, by learning biographic information on the four public figures as mentioned earlier, both teachers and students can explore different values gleaned from what these figures did

during their life. Values that they can learn from reading biographies of the four public figures include leadership, nationalism, patriotism, humanism, generosity, charity (for Mother Teresa), altruism, perseverance, dignity, peacemaking, selfless caring, bravery, strength, and women empowerment (for Raden Ajeng Kartini), for example. In an SFL term (Martin and White 2005), a biographic text depicts the value of people in terms of social esteem (Normality: *Is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?* Capacity: *Is the person competent, capable?* and Tenacity: *Is the person dependable, well disposed?* and social sanction (Veracity (truth): *Is the person honest?* and Propriety (ethics): *Is the person ethical, beyond reproach?*). Pedagogically speaking, biographies, a narrative genre, can be used to teach or learn a myriad of both religious values and secular values.

By drawing on these three examples of visual texts analyzed, visual texts are not value-free, but they contain value messages that teachers and students can learn. Semantically and pragmatically, a visual text gives a complete description of ideological values, which requires reader's subjective interpretation; thereby, challenging teachers and students to use their background knowledge and experience. For this reason, background and experience (content knowledge construction) is a starting point for the construal of values in visual texts. It is important to bear in mind that visual texts can take the form of different text types (e.g., describing, explaining, instructing, arguing, and narrating) and genres (e.g., biographies, stories, news reports). Pedagogically, visual texts, such as photographs, pictures, icons, symbols, and other visuals, can be resources for learning values situated in different sociocultural contexts. In the textbook, both narratives and descriptions (information reports) were predominantly used.

5.2 Verbal (Written) Portrayal (with Visual Accompaniment) of Values

In addition to the visual portrayal of values in the textbook, the writers present verbal texts (sometimes accompanied with visual texts). In a semiotic design term, verbal text refers to spoken text and written text. In this textbook analysis, the verbal text pertains to written text. In the selected textbook, the writers explicitly list values, such as trust, respect, integrity, responsibility, work ethic, honesty, punctuality, professionalism, confidence, cooperation, and teamwork (see Page 211). These values are presented through a decontextualized vocabulary exercise. For in-depth analysis of reading texts in the textbook, three texts with different genres, such as an information report, a recommendation letter, and a biography, were selected.

To begin with, sample Text # 1 (page 14) talks about the success story of Liu Ching Hai as a new executive Chinese chef at one of the most popular Chinese restaurants.

Text 1: **The New Chef at Shang Palace** (The Figure visually presented through a close-up photograph)

> The award-winning Shang Palace Restaurant has appointed **Liu Ching Hai** as its new executive Chinese chef. Named by *Jakarta Kini* Magazine as the **most popular Chinese Restaurant** in town, **Shang Palace** promises that **Liu** will bring a fresh and new spirit to the restaurant. **Shang Palace** is also **famous** for its sumptuous dim sum. Starting his career at the age of 15, **Liu** has more than 20 years of culinary experience. **Liu** won the Best Culinary Skills Award competition organized by the Hong Kong Tourism Association in 1989. (Jakarta Post 2006, Textbook 1, p. 140)

His name represents his ethnic identity as a Chinese who might encourage the reader to think of an ethnic affinity issue. The authority of being a Chinese may be associated with a place geography. Two themes of the text are *Shang Palace* and *Liu Hai*; Liu is associated with Shang Palace where he works. Readers of the textbook may be unfamiliar with this Chinese restaurant, but they recognize this by looking at this proposition, "Named by *Jakarta Kini* Magazine as the most popular Chinese Restaurant in town, Shang Palacae promises…." This Chinese restaurant is located in Jakarta. It is important to note that the source of the text was presented to make the reader aware that this information was taken from a national English-medium newspaper, the Jakarta Post. This genre could grab readers' attention and encourage them to visit the restaurant. To assure this curiosity, the writers might challenge readers to find more information on this Shangri-La's Shang Palace by googling this restaurant (http://www.shangri-la.com/jakarta/shangrila/dining/restaurants/shang-palace/). The reader needs to read another text, the profile Shang Place on the Website of Shangri-la, which helps him or her to glean meaning from the text. This intertextuality assists the reader to increase the validity of the writer's claims (Fairclough 2003) and build the reader's curiosity to read more information. The value of love to read is manifested through making an intertextual reference by quoting another legitimate text or other voices of people with institutional or professional authority.

In terms of an occupational issue, in most of the visual and verbal (written) texts in the textbook, the writers value professional occupations as a preferred professional career. This leaves an imprint on the importance of pursuing this type of employment. These lexical choices, *bring a fresh and new spirit to the restaurant* and *won the best Culinary Skills Award competition*, indicate Liu Hai's capacity to make a difference in a workplace and his achievement as a professional chef. The text also emphasizes that Liu Hai received professional recognition from a legitimate professional body. This ideological message suggests that professional workers, such as a chef, should make a significant contribution to a firm or an institution where they work in order to get work promotion and professional recognition both nationally and internationally. This information report text implies such values as professionalism, contribution, and achievement. The lexical choice of *more than 20 years of culinary experience* demonstrates Liu Hai's solid culinary experience. Additionally, at 35, Liu Hai could achieve his career as an executive chef. Some people could pursue their professional career at an early age. This proposition is also indicated in the following phrase, *starting his career at the age of 15*. This textual discourse implies that it is better to pursue a career at a young age. This textual evidence was also found in Xiong's (2012) textbook analysis. The value of

"to succeed in a career at a young age" suggests the importance of starting to learn something at an early age regardless of social status and natural dispositions as long as they work hard; they can achieve their goals (Xiong 2012).

Another sample Text # 2 is a recommendation letter. This text provides a testimonial to the reader. Reference letters are defined as statements of support for a job applicant from referees (the ones who write a reference letter) nominated by the applicant (Bouton 1995; Heery and Noon 2008). These referees can be previous employers, academic supervisors, senior colleagues, or clients. Not only does a reference letter provide some factual information, it often includes personal and professional opinions about the abilities and qualities of the candidate. References can be useful when viewed as another genre, which provides a description of the overall profile of the candidate from different perspectives. In other words, recommendation letters portray how a referee values an applicant. A recommendation letter text, a promotional genre, also depicts a variety of values. The sample Text # 2 (in the textbook, see page 144), for example, features such values as achievement, leadership, personal development, maturity, hard work, perseverance, learning with others, time management, collaborative work, punctuality, persistence, intellectual integrity, and a role model. These values may be derived from personal and social interaction, participation, and engagement between a referee and an applicant. For example, leadership, hard work, collaboration, and punctuality are work ethics that a referee would like to emphasize so that a future employer has a good impression on the applicant. The referee holds particular values that qualify the applicant. Thus, a letter of reference can be considered as a persuasive text in which the referee convinces the search committee member that the applicant is an ideal candidate. It is obvious that reference letters are valued-laden because this persuasive text features the social evaluation of people from personal and professional angles.

Another biographic text depicts Mohammad Hatta, one of the most leading nationalist leaders in Indonesia during before and after the Independence of Indonesia. The following text was taken from Myhero.Com. The use of *I* signals personal opinions in the introductory paragraph. In Paragraph # 1, Mohammad Hatta is featured as *an important person*, *a perfect person*, *a father of cooperative economic enterprises*, and *a political leader*. These social roles qualify Hatta who has been an inspiration to the reader.

Text 3: **Mohammad Hatta** (Textbook 1, p. 199)

Mohammad Hatta is my hero because **he** is an important person in my life. **He** is almost a perfect person to me. **He** took us out from the darkness into the light. **He** is the father of cooperative economic enterprise in Indonesia. **He** was a political leader. I admire **his thoughts** about politics and economics. And there are many reasons why I became one of **his admirers**.

Mohammad Hatta was born in West Sumatra in 1902. **He** comes from an aristocratic family. **Mohammad Hatta** got the best education available in the Netherlands Indies. Then **he** continued his studies in economics at the Rotterdam School of Commerce. **He** joined the Indonesian Independence Movement and edited a journal, "Indonesia Merdeka." **He** was arrested in 1927 by the Dutch colonialists. **He** had a court trial, but **he** was released. **Hatta** returned to Sumatra in 1932 and **he** became the chairman of the Indonesia National Education (Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia), a nationalist organization. **He** was again arrested by the colonialists and exiled in 1935 for his activities.

> **Hatta**, Soekarno, and other nationalist leaders decided to cooperate with the Japanese to further the purpose of Indonesian independence. So, on 17th of August 1945, **Hatta** and Soekarno joined in proclaiming the birth of the independent Republic of Indonesia. Soekarno became the president, and **Hatta** became the vice president. The Indonesian people were very happy because they got their freedom, but the Dutch colonialists resisted the nationalists. Hatta became premier and defense minister in 1948 to fight against the Dutch troops. Again he was imprisoned by the Dutch in 1948. Then **he** became a minister again, as before, as vice president of the republic… (http://myhero.com/hero.asp?hero=hatta_bandung)

Paragraph # 2 presents a historical biography of Hatta (1902–1980). "Hatta was the second most important leader of the nationalist movement, becoming Indonesia's vice-president after 17 August 1945" (Post et al. 2010, p. 503). To begin with, the use of lexical choices such as *my hero*, *to me*, *I*, and *his admirers* represents personal views about Mohammad Hatta. West Sumatra indicates Hatta's origin in order to give information on Hatta's ethnic identity as Minangkabau. Another lexical choice, *an aristocratic family*, shows Hatta's socio-economic status. Possibly due to these socio-economic status and willingness factors, Hatta had an opportunity to receive good education and further their studies into higher education overseas. During his studies in the Netherlands, Hatta engaged in political and journalistic activities. He became active in the Perhimpunan Indonesia (the Indonesian Independence Movement) and an editor of its magazine, Indonesia Merderka. Paragraph # 2 also portrays Hatta's engagement in political and journalistic activities. The use of words such as *arrest*, *a court trial*, and *exiled*, depicts Hatta's hardship because they had to fight for the independence of Indonesia. Despite this hardship, Hatta played an important role as the chairman of the Indonesia National Education. In Paragraph # 3, Hatta is portrayed as an independence fighter along with other nationalist leaders. The theme of the first clause in Paragraph # 3 is *Hatta*, *Soekarno*, and *other nationalist leaders* in order to emphasize Hatta's and other nationalist leaders' effort to achieve his political goal. This implies that what Hatta did represents patriotic and nationalist deeds. The use of *resist* and *imprison* and the use of passive voice demonstrates Hatta's hardship because they fought for any colonial injustice and treatment at that time. This represents Hatta's great effort and struggle for Indonesia's independence. In other words, Paragraph # 3 features Hatta's attempt to co-proclaim independence in 1945. Finally, he became Indonesia's first vice president until 1956 and prime minister in 1948–1950.

Written texts along with visual artifacts (text authenticity) certainly portray particular values. In this case, the use of lexico-grammatical and discursive resources plays a crucial role in constructing and communicating such values. For this reason, both teachers and students need to understand meanings of these texts semantically, pragmatically, and ideologically because texts are not neutral but value-laden. In terms of micro-semiotic language analysis, the inclusion of selected experiences, ideas, and knowledge in textbooks portrays values that textbook writers hold. For this reason, English textbooks set value-laden norms and certain ways of thinking, behaving, doing, and being. To discern these values, it is important for teachers to equip students with experience (e.g., respecting others), knowledge (e.g., politeness), skills (e.g., politeness strategies), and attitudes (e.g., cultural awareness of

politeness from a values perspective) so that the students can critically make sense or meaning of hidden values in texts. In other words, both teachers and students need to recognize the discursive construction of values in different texts.

6 Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has presented in what ways values are discursively portrayed in the textbook. The textbook writers claim that one of the textbook features includes character building, which aims to expose students to a myriad of moral values (e.g., nationalism, patriotism, professionalism). These values are represented through visual and written texts as well as multimodal texts (the use of both written text and visual text). The textbook analysis did not focus on learning activities because the textbook writers just list lexical items or vocabularies that depict values, such as honesty, trust, respect, responsibility, work ethic, honesty, punctuality, confidence, and cooperation. There is no explicit value-integrated English instruction. No instructional prompts engage students in value-based English learning activities or tasks (e.g., small-group discussion, critical analysis of value-imbued texts). For example, no value-based discussion tasks are included in the textbook in which teachers and students may discuss values depicted in visual and verbal texts. In other words, learning tasks or activities emphasizing the integration of values into ELT remain under-practiced.

The critical micro-semiotic textual analysis also reveals that visual artifacts seem to be considered as value-free texts. In fact, photographs, pictures, and other visual texts represent particular values that both teachers and students can discuss and learn. On another note, values are presented through narrative texts. This implies that teachers and students can learn values merely from narrative texts. This delimits the exploration of values in different text types, such as information reports, recounts, argumentation, explanations, reviews, and discussions. The present discourse study demonstrates that values can be portrayed in different genres and text types. For example, biographies and reference letters are pedagogical resources that can feature values because both are documented evidence on the social evaluation of people in addition to personal and historical accounts. Where language classroom materials provide teachers and students with unique value perspectives, both teachers and students need to critically see these perspective differences as a resource in order to recognize that people hold different values, which are socio-historically situated. Character education in language policy seems not to be critically translated into a curriculum document, such as a textbook. This suggests that textbook writers need to have the capacity to translate this policy into ELT in an educational setting (e.g., a school). This evidence has both pedagogical and empirical implications that teachers and researchers should take into account.

Pedagogically speaking, there is an urgent need for teachers to implement text-based language learning and content-based language learning in order to engage students with the critical exploration of values in English textbooks. Students can

make use of varied texts in terms of text types (e.g., narratives, information reports, argumentation) and genres (e.g., biographies, reference letters, and a curriculum vita) so that they learn different values gleaned from different textual sources. This critical exploration enables students to build and enhance a critical awareness of in what ways values are discursively depicted in texts. By equipping students with critical language awareness, students are able to play roles as text users, participants, and analysts instead of being text consumers (Widodo 2017). With this in mind, students have to understand and use functional language analysis and critical discourse analysis. In this respect, students can learn how lexico-grammar, which operates in texts, represents values. This training plays a critical role in helping students recognize that lexico-grammar serves as a resource for communicating and canalizing values through texts. In this case, for instance, both teachers and students should be trained to use Halliday's functional grammar analysis based on three meta-functional elements: ideational function (the construction of experience: knowledge, skills, and attitudes), interpersonal function (interaction, participation, and engagement between people including the sharing of knowledge, emotions, perceptions, and feelings), and textual function (the flow of information) (Widodo 2015, 2017). This functional language analysis helps students become aware that textbooks contain values that are socioculturally constructed or reconstructed. For example, when a teacher presents particular famous figures, she or he intends to portray values (e.g., humanity, charity, struggle for independence, nationalism) associated with these figures (e.g., Mother Teresa, Sukarno). Students need to recognize this intention. Teachers can utilize authentic texts as complementary materials, such as corporate vision and mission statements, corporate or institutional philosophies, and movies in order to explore more values that are ideologically embedded in these texts.

From an investigative viewpoint, there is a need for more critical investigation into English textbooks produced by different publishers and written by writers from other countries where English is still viewed as a foreign language or as an additional language. This investigation needs to include students' and teachers' perspectives on the use of English textbooks. The present discourse study calls for more critical textbook analysis along with (micro)-ethnography and micro-semiotic evaluation of how a textbook is enacted so as to explore value dimensions in textbooks as researchers or textbook analysts engage with teachers and students who use English textbooks. This enterprise will provide more rigorous evidence regarding the incorporation of values into ELT. Critical discourse analysis from different perspectives (e.g., critical feminism, critical morality, multimodality, critical narrative, post-structuralism) should be on the agenda in order to extend the scholarship of textbook evaluation, which unpacks the ideological, sociocultural, socio-political, and historical complexities and meanings of values grounded in these perspectives. Exploring in-depth teachers' and learners' reactions towards the inclusion of character education in English textbooks would be a worthwhile empirical venture as it can create mutual understanding between textbook writers and users. It is my personal belief that more critical investigation into English textbooks should be undertaken to explore how instructional prompts and activities/tasks in textbooks portray particular values because textbooks play a role as a value agent.

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Integrating Moral Education into Language Education in Asia: Guidelines for Materials Writers

Saneh Thongrin

Abstract A growing body of research has identified ESL/EFL instruction as a practice that is culturally hegemonic. Perspectives from critical pedagogy and representations of learners' reality, issues in morality have rarely been integrated into ELT practices, especially in the realm of materials development where the influence of culture and learners' socio-cultural variables should be recognized. As this chapter aims to help English language teachers produce localized materials representing students' realities and thus serving their needs appropriately, it discusses some rationale for morality-oriented materials development and gives guidelines for materials writing, emphasizing the incorporation of moral education into ELT practices. With the perspectives discussed and the guidelines suggested, it is expected that the materials designed and developed will play a more important role in socializing Asian learners into moral reasoning, thereby fostering morally competent citizens for their local and global societies.

Keywords Asian learners • Cultural identities • ELT practices • Materials development • Moral education

> Teaching itself involves moral action… Teachers are moral agents, and education as a whole, and thus classroom interaction, in particular, is fundamentally and inevitably moral in nature (Buzzelli and Johnston 2001, p. 876).

1 Introduction

"ELT in Asia is the product of its relation with Western countries throughout the colonial, neocolonial, and modern era" (Sung 2012, p. 30). This statement points out problems in teaching English in Asia where students hold unique socio-cultural backgrounds (see Matsuda and Friedrich 2011; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Sung 2012). This is because the approach called Communicative Language Teaching

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(CLT) places more emphasis on the development of students' linguistic communicative competence based on the native speaker as a model (e.g., British English, American English). English Teachers, regardless of the teaching contexts, aim to train learners with "a native speaker communicative and cultural competence" (Risager 1998, p. 244) where Western national Anglophone culture has been adopted (Saraceni 2009). Learners are expected to achieve communicative competence, and the model proposed by Canale and Swain (1980), consisting of competence in linguistics, sociolinguistics, and discourse, has been used and acknowledged in ELT. This clearly indicates that, in addition to meaning in communication, language accuracy, though contextually assessed, is still one of the primary goals of teaching. The native-speaker model has consequently received some criticisms. Byram (1997), for instance, argues that those teaching goals are far from successful and tend to "create the wrong kind of competence," and "it would imply that a learner should be linguistically schizophrenic, abandoning one language in order to blend into another linguistic environment, becoming accepted as a native speaker by other native speakers" (p. 11).

Clearly, teaching English with the aim of creating the learners who may lose their own cultural identity through the learning processes underpinned by the perfect model of the CLT approach may not be the ultimate goal, especially when English can be viewed from multiple perspectives. The problems inherent in the implementation of CLT are that learners not only have insufficient language skills but encounter problems in cultural identities in certain Anglophone contexts. "Standard native-speaker arteries of English can no longer be considered to be the only correct varieties" (Tomlinson 2005, p. 6).

This problem has also been found in materials development as materials writers still base content, levels of knowledge and language skills, and cultural aspects on linguistic uniformity and "perfect" competence of native speakers. The ELT materials distributed internationally are mainly oriented towards American and British perspectives (Ilieva 2000; Ndura 2004). These materials mostly used in non-English settings scarcely portray students' specific needs, problems, emotional ties, values, and cultural notions (Bell and Gower 1998; Garcia 2005; Jolly and Bolitho 1998; McDonough and Shaw 2003; Murayama 2000; Scollon and Scollon 1995; Sheldon 1988; Tomlinson 2003, 2005); thereby failing to reflect today's pedagogical principles.

Probably, the pedagogical principles originally created for language education in English environments may not work well for Asian learners born and raised with a different socio-cultural worldview. As such, ELT activities should be implemented on the basis of some view in critical pedagogy fostering learners' authorities, identities, and desirable characteristics, where students not only learn an additional language, but also become culturally competent learners and, as decent members of their society, hold desirable characters and critical minds.

In language education, moral education, among many, can serve as a teacher tool to enhance such students' characters and critical minds. Education may not serve their needs well unless it reinforces moral reasoning for their lives. "Education is just as meaningless outside the real world as is a fire without oxygen, or as is breath-

ing in a vacuum. The teacher's educational work, therefore, must inevitably be connected with his creative, social and life work." (Vygotsky 1977, p. 345). A Vygotskian perspective on morality emphasizes moral education as an important function in culture-oriented practices (Rogoff 1990) socially and culturally mediated by language and discourse. The knowledge and understanding of socio-cultural differences and the target community should result in more intercultural awareness (Council of Europe 2001), and ELT materials designed for non-native learners should thus help them to communicate effectively with speakers of English around the globe.

However, the implementation of moral education in ELT is far from evident. As inferred from the studies by Mangubhai (2007) and Sockett and LePage (2002), previous studies have provided little how English language teachers and materials writers have spelled out moral dimensions in language teaching and classroom materials. What appears is a political lens of critical perspectives in language teaching (See Alvarez 2007; Canagarajah 2007; Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 1992; Sharifian 2009) or ethics in teacher education (See Buzzelli and Johnston 2001; Johnson & Reiman, Johnson and Reiman 2007; Mahony 2009). Among the few studies is the study by Johnston, Juhasz et al. (1998) investigating English teachers' behavior based on the three-fold framework: class rules, morality carried in curricular substructure (e.g., shared understandings in class), and students' perceptions of their classroom practices. Unfortunately, the framework used may not well reflect morality or students' cultural ideologies. Also, this study was conducted in an Anglophone setting, so the research merits may not extend completely into Asian contexts, where students' needs and socio-cultural backgrounds are different from those in Anglophone environments.

As a result, the purpose of this chapter is to propose possible guidelines for ELT teachers and materials writers, the agents of knowledge, cultures, and virtues, to integrate moral education into teaching materials and class activities so that we can meet students' needs more effectively. In this chapter, I situate my standpoints in the theoretical views on critical pedagogy, cultural representations, and moral education. The chapter finally concludes with guidelines essential for materials writers to consider when they develop course materials or class activities appropriate for students' needs and historical backgrounds.

2 Critical Pedagogy and Course Materials

ELT Practices are politically constructed (Pennycook 1994) as they hold social and economic ideologies. The status quo attached to English education is ingrained "in the rhythms and textures of culture, consciousness, and everyday life" (Apple 1990, xi). In developing materials, we should consequently start with critical pedagogy that suggests the issues of morality to be integrated into learning materials. Three tenets inherent in critical pedagogy signify what we need to do when designing such materials: individuals' culture or lived experience to be reflected; voice through a

critical look at one's society; and society transformed toward people's equality. In Freire's (1970) view, what and how teachers teach any subject matters to students are closely related to the critical pedagogy view, and their main commitment is to help students hold "conscientization" (consciousness) and critical minds that view their education settings and connect their own problems and experiences to their society. As critical pedagogy aims to promote an informed transformation of society through a praxis related to the formation between theory and practice and between thinking and doing (Giroux 1988), teachers are expected to be the agents holding knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes that question, understand, and act for change for schools' inequities, all of which are termed as intellectually transformative, where monolithic views of dominations, what Giroux argued in his 1981work, probably need to be reconstructed:

> Emphasizing the form of classroom encounters that replicate the social relations of the workplace, they do not consider how the dominant culture is mediated in schools through textbooks, through the assumptions that teachers use to guide their work, through the meaning that students use to negotiate their classroom experiences, and through the form and content of school subjects themselves. (p. 97)

Here, learning materials, teachers' beliefs, students' negotiated meaning, and learning subject matters are the entities teachers need to consider if they are to cultivate critical, active learners. Such critical perspectives are asserted by several linguists and educators. However, when it comes to the textbooks non-native students used, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) observed that the contents of textbooks used in Venezuela, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia and in the United Sates embraced students' cultures, target cultures, and international target cultures. The third category includes the textbooks covering cultures from English speaking countries and non-English counterparts, and it is very helpful for classroom practices in a wider language education spectrum. The first two types could be of use when teachers introduce awareness to the class and provide complements for the missing elements in the texts. Students' learning benefits as a result of any single view or practice implemented, however, may be limited as there could be some missing advantages that should be derived from multifaceted practices or perspectives. More benefits should be offered by the textbooks with the content that portrays the combination of cultures, in which students learn about their own culture and others' at the same time. This is more crucial especially in ELT contexts, in which we should consider students' representations of reality and global cultures. This is because the content of materials should representi social-cultural reality of learners and their wider global society. In this case, issues in moral education can be addressed in ELT materials as there is a wide spectrum of morality issues oriented to each cultural context available for selection as the materials content. Socialized with the local and global points of view, students tend to gain more world knowledge and later on enhance more critical thinking. These will be helpful for their problem solving, especially when they encounter some difficulties in relation to their learning, living, or working. Accessing both levels of these cultural contents is also a way they not only

appreciate the beauty of their own cultural heritage, but also understand others in wider societies. They then gradually hold more awareness of cultural differences while learning at school and serving their future workplace. Accordingly, both local and global cultures integrated into ELT materials are greater cultural resources for morality content that should offer positive solutions to students learning in the globalized context.

3 Cultural Representations and Materials Writing

In addition to critical pedagogy, materials writers, when designing course materials, need to understand concepts of culture that could foster or inhibit students' learning. Culture based on Brody (2003) is defined in two levels: level one as the product of "civilization" (p. 39) and referred to as the formal institutions in a macro scale including social, political, and economic domains, and level two as the way of everyday life for people in any particular groups. When considering the fundamental concept of culture and its applications in real world practice, we see that one seems to be complementary to another, and both provide pictures of cultures at large and small scales, some of which can be implemented in textbooks designed for learners in ELT contexts. Culture is also more important when considered as part of learning elements, where it is "the site where identities are constructed, desires mobilized, and moral values shaped" (Giroux 2000, p. 132). This can take place on condition that we integrate students' historical background into the process of teaching and learning, and materials writing is an important element of such a process.

Materials and their cultural factors could be viewed through many lenses, and one on which I position this chapter is the view by Risager (2012), where the term linguaculture is referred to in her work, *Linguaculture and transnationality: The cultural dimensions of language*, in the use of first, second, and foreign language. Citing linguistic anthropologist Paul Friedrich (1989), Risager emphasizes the relationship between political economy, ideology, and language, stating that the term was originally defined as "a domain of experience that fuses and intermingles the vocabulary, many semantic aspects of grammar, and the verbal aspects of culture" (Friedrich 1989, p. 306) and changed to languaculture and then used by linguistic anthropologist Michael Agar in his 1994 work. While the term is referred to as a variation defined locally in Friedrich's way, it also expands to social groups in Agar's view:

> Language, in all its varieties, in all the ways it appears in everyday life, builds a world of meanings. When you run into different meanings, when you become aware of your own and work to build a bridge to the others, 'culture' is what you're up to. Language fills the spaces between us with sounds; culture forges the human connection through them. Culture is in language, and language is loaded with culture. (Agar 1994, p. 28).

With this relationship, investigations of languaculture learning benefit second language instruction, which also encompasses materials design and development, in which Agar suggests that L2 be replaced by second languaculture (LC2). This is sensible as languaculture can explain the connections of culture embodied in language structures, semantics, and pragmatics. More terms with similar meanings to languaculture used by various researchers, such as culture-in-language (See Crozer and Liddicoat 2000), or language-and-culture (See Byram et al. 1994), indicate social/cultural representations that play a greater role in the process of language learning in which those learners of non-English environments are engaged. With such representations, students can understand interactions between themselves and others. As Moscovici asserts:

> Social representations are systems of values, ideas and practices which enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history. Moscovici (1961, xiii, cited in Dervin 2012, p. 185)

Through such representations, we understand the worldview in various scales and can interact with the members at such levels. Since these shared representations are co-constructed (Howarth 2006), they can be unsteady and hybrid with multiple forms, where content selected has many roles to play in materials writing. This is important especially when we write the textbooks used in non-English contexts, where the cultural contents represented in those instructional materials significantly socialize learners cognitively and culturally.

What kind of cultural content could satisfactorily serve the students' learning needs? Answers to this question can be drawn from a number of studies. Ndura (2004) and Seidlhofer (2003), for instance, revealed that learning materials in their studies contained some unsuitable content in relation to cultural/social representations. In textbooks, cultural and moral content can be transmitted to learners, where the cultural flows defined by Risager (2012) can be seen through four pathways: linguistic flows (language codes), linguacultural flows (L1-related meanings), discursive flows (meaning in general), and other cultural flows (non-language meanings such as music, culture, or behavior). With respect to the content in learning materials that could socialize learners culturally and morally, I view that these paths can be applicable to the functions of such materials. It is true that learners, during their early periods of learning a second or foreign language, tend to draw on linguaculture experiences related to their native language. Reaching the strong abilities in such a learning context, learners may still maintain linguaculture as the result of accumulated experiences derived from historical backgrounds that include the early second/foreign-language-learning periods. Here, we agree that students' L1-related experience is a significant entity for L2 learning. This view constructs what critical pedagogy offers, and vice versa—students' historical backgrounds and the instruction tailored to suit their needs should be in concert.

4 Moral Education and Materials Writing

Morality is what we use to control conduct of our life and reasons for doing so. Morality in education aims to help learners respect human differences and democracy principles. This value, also known as moral education, values education, character education, or ethics education, is connected to life or emotional skills that help learners take on their roles in society appropriately (Elias et al. 1997; Sockett and LePage 2002). Accordingly, socializing students through morality has gained more attention in the classroom setting with five approaches. First, values clarification, through non-judgmental teaching methods, encourages learners to discover their preferred values. However, this approach was found ineffective and thus not used widely in education (Oser 1986).

Second, moral education through cognitive development focuses on, as indicated by its term, the development of learners' moral reasoning, in which Lawrence Kohlberg (1963, 1975) characterized six stages of moral reasoning—rule-governed behavior, instrumentally mutual fairness, expected mutual relationships, social responsibilities, fulfilled social obligations, and ethically moral reasoning. As these stages indicate, growing in moral reasoning can occur as it moves from one stage to another, where students' cognitive growth can be supported through class activities with emphasis on moral issues. These developmental stages of morality are in accordance with psychological development of children whose behaviors can initially be controlled by regulations, and stages 2–5 represent those grown-ups whose characters of decent members are well developed. At the very last stage of morality, children are expected to hold ethical, moral reasoning, which is always needed as one of the important elements of human beings. However, some points between the stages seem questionable as it is difficult to predict moral behavior from each stage as some may reveal the same behavior although they are achieving different stages of moral development. Also, the expected moral actions and those that have been achieved may not necessarily be the same. However, these multi-stage developments have empirically been explored, and supported by the findings of longitudinal and cross-cultural research (Power et al. 1989).

Third, teachers' caring under the feminine approach could play a complementary role to the cognitive development approach. Some theorists (e.g., Gilligan 1971) viewed that research based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development was mainly conducted through boys' lens. Accordingly, Noddings (1992) proposed caring around the realm of education, ranging from caring for self and people, animals and plants, to caring for man-made objects and personal ideas. In this way, caring explains close relationships between humans and environments, and thus can be applied to learners living in a changing world very well.

Fourth, character education signifies a virtue defined as qualities of decent character, and teachers' main responsibility is consequently to build up moral society, connecting students to virtues and "habitual practice" (Lickona 1997, p. 55) that will ultimately help them to achieve their life fulfillment.

Here, we can see that moral education viewed through teachers' caring and character education approaches can be applied in ELT practices of Asian contexts, where teachers are the main agents of students' learning. With the teacher caring, some concerns for self and others, or any related environmental issues can be used as the learning content, along with the language elements that will be set as course objectives appropriate for students' age and background levels. The qualities of decent character underlined by character education also come into play as teachers visualize the characteristics of their students in the future era, so these characteristics are main factors that signify the content selected for coursebooks, materials, or lessons written. Imagine Thai, Vietnamese, or Indonesian students socialized with qualities of decent citizens while learning to master English. These students are believed to grow with not only language competence essential for their occupation, but also desirable character necessary for peaceful societies—their own home country and more global ones in their life network.

However, in educational contexts that encourage individuals' freedom of mind, this kind of content may be viewed as what that could one way or another straitjacket students and may consequently create some limited impact on students' learning outcome as a result of choice deprived during their learning process. Given this, some classroom implementations driven by moral education through these approaches may not well represent students' choice of leaning. This results in critical morality as the fifth approach to the explorations of such issues (see Brown et al. 1991; Lipe 2004; Mashishi 1999). As moral lessons with more effective use should respond to students' needs, the transmission of moral lessons should not ignore individuals' personal choice of moral matters. Mashishi (1999) views that students' morality could be developed on an amoral-to-moral spectrum of reasoning. This could be true for actual classrooms, where students' behaviors may vary depending on some related factors. As a result, morality-oriented instruction should be implemented when students are provided with choice. That said, students should choose moral matters freely from choices provided after careful considerations, and this subsequently results in their happiness and action with what they have chosen, all of which can become their life patterns. Consequently, moral education through a critical lens should consider individuals' needs and backgrounds, giving them more room for choice of learning. Here the selection with lesson content and morality should be implemented carefully. Teachers and materials writers can resort to the view by critical pedagogy—what will be selected for the learners should represent their own needs and historical backgrounds.

To instill desirable characters in students, materials writers, when considering morality content and approaches to ELT practice, can make use of four approaches to morality—cognitive development, caring, character education, and critical morality. The first one puts more emphasis on cognition; the second, humanistic caring for self, society, and elements of living; the third, those including cognition, emotion and behavior; the fourth, students' needs and choice to be considered. In education, a large number of studies have reported results in agreement with the positive

claims of moral education in learning domains (See Nucci and Weber 1991) and three characteristics of effective moral discussion: dilemmas as a springboard, different points of view on such dilemmas, and transactive discussion or the logical arguments made by students (Damon and Killen 1982; Younnis 1880). Given this, moral education takes on many more roles in its applications. In education, students are implanted with both knowledge and morality. In foreign language education, most teachers and materials writers unfortunately adopt the monolingual English speaker model and its ideology (Seidlhofer 2001), which may not serve students' needs and socio-cultural backgrounds completely.

In fact, language acquisition and literacy can be assisted by social and cultural practices and interactions. Although having language mastery as one of the course requirements, we can address problems indicating morality as a lesson input to trigger students' interactions through class discussions, written reflections, and class presentations. Content of morality can be incorporated into language teaching. This is because moral domains are not something new or strange to education as they are similar to learning domains in that they include cognition, emotion and behavior (Walker et al. 1995). As we may recognize taxonomy of the cognitive learning domains used as general principles for education, students' knowledge can be divided into levels, from lowest to highest, where learners can recall, comprehend, apply, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate what has been learned. In the same vein, they, in thinking morally, know and understand the causes of misconduct, apply morality in action, analyze individual and collective values, synthesize related matters for problem solving, evaluate choice of solutions, and formulate moral solutions. In feeling morally, learners become aware of and react to situated morality, commit themselves to morally selected actions, accommodate their lives to other values, and maintain their moral framework while living in society. We can see that moral domains should be incorporated into language instruction in which learners, through language as a learning tool, display their pertinent characters as those with directions and goals of good lives, decide and accomplish something right, and initiate and commit themselves to acceptable deeds. These finally benefit our learners with various age levels. What is written for young leaners may carry the content related to accepted/unaccepted behavior, while those aimed at more mature learners may include higher levels of caring, ethical, critical reasoning. The concepts around any selected morality issues should be flexible, and materials can be tailored to their audience's background (e.g., ages, study levels or socio-cultural variables, types and levels of discourse, and learning objectives.

Language in and of itself should work as the most effective tool for teachers to construct students' logical and moral reasoning, where language teachers, active moral agents creating ethics-laden English instruction, can link morality to not only students' literacy, but also their desirable characters including logical, ethical reasoning. What follows, I discuss guidelines for morality content to be integrated into language education in general and materials writing in particular.

5 Moral Education Applied to Language Education

Language education plays a crucial role in students' literacy and critical thinking in that the former functions as a tool for learning and communications in their future workplaces, while the latter could influence some ways of learners' lives in terms of ethics, philosophy, and principles in which they believe while living their lives in society. In the process of students' socialization, both in language learning and in character fostering, issues or learning content in relation to moral education can be incorporated into language education in three significant ways, based on practicality suggested by some research.

5.1 Moral Education Integrated into Classroom Practice with Literacy Emphasis

Literacy is generally emphasized for students at various levels. A simple way to implement moral education in language education is through the use of reading texts or passages. One of the motivating drives for K-12 students or those in higher levels is the community of inquiry as the text-based model suggested by Lipman (1987). This model contains questions exploring whether people's views or beliefs are sensible; students read the text aloud, ask questions and make comments on related issues to create collective competence or thinking acts triggering logical mental acts. Such logical acts serve ethical reasoning, and moral education thus helps encourage students to undertake critical, ethical inquiries. This framework should be fruitful in that the students' ability gained is important and ultimately relevant to their own lives later on. Equally important, the instruction emphasizing texts or reading activities is another important gateway for learning societies. Then students' reading habit not only creates their own ability, but also strengthens their knowledge-based community.

5.2 Learners' Character Socialized through Moral Content

In addition to language competence, moral education can be implemented to foster learners' character. The aim is to cultivate decent citizens of the future beforehand. This goal can be illustrated in the projects by Heartwood (1992), William et al. (2003), and Leming (2000). The first dealt with socializing students through literacy classes; the others focused on transforming students' characteristics to their future desirable character. In Heartwood's (1992) work, the elementary schoolers of the Heartwood Institute were implanted with morality through a multicultural, literature-oriented approach with reading-aloud activities. The students were introduced to seven desirable values—hope, love, courage, loyalty, respect, honesty, and

justice—with the goals of developing a value-ethics-morals system, understanding multicultural differences through morality, serving as cultural and ethical resources, and offering directions for children's common ethical principles. The approach apparently has favourable effects on the cognitive gains in all the six levels of learners, thus helpful in ELT practices in that moral education can be incorporated into language teaching effectively. In the project by William, Yanchar, Jensen, and Lewis (William et al. 2003), the moral principles informally integrated with high schoolers reveal positive gains in terms of the students' characters, including appreciation of respect, and teachers' attempts to implant responsibility in students' learning and future lives. The values focussed, such as respect, caring, empathy, love, and social interaction, are expected to shape the students' future so that they can become mentally and morally healthy adults in society. In the same vein, Leming (2000) used introspective approaches to the learners' lives in translating morality into learners' decision-making abilities in a middle-high school curriculum. Throughout a semester, the Building Decision Skills, a collaborative program between the Institute for Global Ethics' ethical decision-making curriculum and the community service program, aimed to teach ethical-conflict reasoning and develop students' awareness of ethics, in which some decision-making practices with essential values—right and wrong, truth and loyalty, and justice and mercy—were introduced into the discussions. All the projects are motivating examples for materials writers who are to transform classroom learning into a camp for students' lives, where the students can be trained to hold their ethical character at various educational levels. With young learners, the lessons could introduce some basic concepts of morality, such as love, courage, loyalty, respect, or honesty as these characteristics are primary principles for people living in any societies. In the learners with more maturity, some complex concepts, including caring, empathy, and social concerns, can be placed with more emphasis. After all, the learners socialized through such moral reasoning can serve their community more satisfactorily.

5.3 Moral Education Applied to Course Materials

Some appealing application of moral education is classroom materials used in ELT practices. This is in accordance with the view by Johnson and Reiman (2007) stating that religious and cultural principles implemented in classrooms can lead to moral judgments. The complementary use of language education and culturally moral inculcation appeared in Ghaith and Shaaban (1994), Shaaban (2005) and a work of mine (Thongrin 2012), in which all researchers tried to incorporate their students' cultural background into the materials written for their classroom contexts. Despite some different frameworks, these materials shared some commonality—demonstrating a combination of language learning and moral reasoning and thus serving students' needs in each socio-cultural context —where the first two focused on morality based on Muslim teaching, and the third life lessons through the Asian culture and the Buddhist lens, such as patience with a hard life, mercy to

mankind, positive reasoning and thinking, and more. The first two showed positive results in the students' learning, and the third exhibited positive gains revealed by the teachers who implemented or adapted the materials in their practice as the material offers hands-on activities from which students can learn language and life values, encouraging both language competence and student character development.

As has been discussed, the positive values instilled in the students' lives stand on the merits of moral education. In addition to learning knowledge and skills, the applications of moral education are expected to extend classrooms' walls. In this way, responsibilities of language teachers are not limited to language teaching. What materials writers can do with this is discussed in the following section.

6 Guidelines for Morality-Oriented Materials

How we write teaching materials should to some extent consider research applications, so practices can be justified soundly. A study by Sercu *et al*. (Sercu et al. 2005), exploring teachers' thinking and perceptions, beliefs and attitudes, and knowledge and professional development all in relation to becoming intercultural foreign language teachers, provides a comprehensive picture of the intercultural concept implemented by the teachers. The data derived from the researchers in seven European countries indicate that students are rarely developed to become intercultural speakers, and teachers may not be clear about intercultural communication perspectives and their application to ELT practices. Accordingly, simply transmitting cultural knowledge to students may not be sufficient as they could not hold skills and abilities essential for quality citizens. Also, it could be implied that in such learning contexts, some higher forms of thinking, such as critical, ethical reasoning, may rarely be introduced to learners properly. Such research findings suggest that students should be socialized through lessons or materials that enhance their critical, ethical reasoning. Then, how can these expectations be spelled out in ELT practices, and especially in materials writing? The findings derived from such research in moral education indicate that materials writers need some guidelines to consider when writing course materials or learning activities, where I proposed learning objectives, teaching methods, class activities, and learning assessment.

6.1 Learning Objectives: Moral Content-Language Intergration

How can materials writers help instill moral values in Asian learners through materials development? Integrating cultural values or moral education into class activities could socialize them to become world citizens. Particularly, learning objectives and language skills as the outcomes of teaching-learning processes are set prior to

the selections of moral issues and vice versa. Integrated skills and content-based instruction are facilitative in language instruction, as the goal of language education is to create not only language learners but also learners that hold knowledge of the world and thus serve Asian communities better. Accordingly, there are two pillars in learning objectives: (a) learning contents including morality and students' cultural identities and (b) language skills.

6.1.1 Learning Contents

Regarding learning contents, some researchers (e.g., Garcia 2005; Ilieva 2000; Murayama 2000; Ndura 2004; Shin, Eslami& Chen, Shin et al. 2011) suggest that ELT textbooks' cultural content should correspond to the cultural background of the students as the audience of those texts, and that students should be taught to be open to differences in behavior, expectations, and values of other cultural groups (Cortazzi and Jin 1999; Mughan 1999; Sercu et al. 2005). We can do so with the following:

- Consider a wide range of morality to be incorporated into such values of each culture, such as self-reliance and honesty in Muslim contexts, diligence and patience for Confucius learners, moderation and gratitude in Buddhist culture, and love and respect for those in Christianity settings.
- Many shared values in relation to peace, cultural appreciation, justice, caring, empathy, and the like are of use to learners in general cultural contexts.
- Consider choice of morality associated with students' cultural identities if the aim is to foster students' identities constructed through classroom practices.

With these, morality-oriented materials could include students' socio-cultural variables more satisfactorily.

6.1.2 Language Skills

As for language skills, we should aim for students' language competence as it is primary to ELT practices. Teachers and materials writers, while planning lessons or writing instructional materials, consider an language competence indicator, which embraces learning outcomes as well as moral and cultural contents discussed earlier. We can adopt or modify the learning objectives in the texts selected by considering communicative competence as originally stated in Canale and Swain (1980), the intercultural competence model by Byram (1997) or others, the model proposed by Risager (2007), or a combination of such models or any other applicable one. While the first model may not cover moral content representing learners' socio-cultural backgrounds due to its language emphasis, the second extends language learning boundaries to include students' cultural issues. The proportion between language and content in moral education and culture can be tailored to a particular group of audience for such materials. In the model by Risager (2007), materials writers can design the learning objectives with various central elements, which I

re-classify into four main purposes. The first five elements are related to language learning: structural linguistic competence; competence and resource in poetics; semantic and pragmatic competence and resource; competence in translation and interpretation; and competence in interpreting texts or discourse and media. The second group functions in critical awareness in languages and cultures, including knowledge of languages and critical language awareness and knowledge of cultures and society and critical cultural awareness. The third serving as learning skills includes competence and resource in linguistic identities and competence in using ethnographic methods. The last element is promising for students as the world citizens—competence in transnational cooperation. For more merits associated with learners' particular backgrounds, a combination of these perspectives could be explored, however. Teaching English during the state of flux with multiple perspectives, we should widen the road for students' learning. What we emphasize should be for their learning benefits.

6.2 Teaching Methods

In actual instruction, teaching methods will be another important factor to consider. The elements of local and global moral issues in different cultures can be brought into learning materials through content-based instruction, cultural studies, literature-based instruction, and humanistic language teaching with an emphasis on skills or resources such as reading texts, journal writing, and written or oral responses to simulations. For course materials emphasizing learning content, along with language skills, content-based and task-based instructions are more appropriate as a means of conveying morality in learning tasks, containing important aspects, such as task completion comparable to real-world activities, some communication problems to solve, and task assessment in terms of learning outcomes. These task characteristics allow materials writers to use morality issues in both local and global cultures as some input or core activities that encourage learners to be involved in learning activities for expected learning outcomes. The focus or the meaning of such activities can be drawn from moral education, and materials writers or teachers decide about morality and language skill as a means and an end, and vice versa. Two important points are planning morality content as a primary meaning, and assigning the learning of morality or language communication as a means or an end of activities.

6.3 Class Activities

To instill desirable moral values in students, we need class activities that encourage classroom interactions or collaborative learning, such as class discussion and question responses, outdoor investigations and writing projects, simulations and role

plays, brainstorming and community service projects, problem-solution exercises, and any exercises supporting critical reasoning. The cooperative learning that require students to fill language gaps also suits the nature of morality, which needs students to argue and seek ways for problem solving, and teachers are the key agents mediating any conflicting views. Then, materials writers, when designing materials with certain levels of control, can resort to Crookes and Chaudron's (1991) taxonomy of three-group techniques on the basis of levels of control.

- With those controlled techniques and applied to the morality-language integration, we can use warm-up through mimes, songs and play, reading aloud, content explanation, role-play demonstration, and dialogue/narrative presentation. These activities can be used at an early phase of instruction.
- As students are familiar with learning objectives, they can be introduced to those semi-controlled techniques. We may consider some practical activities, such as questions-answers, brainstorming, storytelling, cued narrative/dialogue, information transfer, and information exchange. These techniques are also helpful for characters constructed as students could be socialized through class interactions.
- We may challenge students using the techniques open to their creativity and response, such as problem solving and simulation, interviews and discussion, drama and role play, and composition and a propos. These are appropriate for learners in higher levels as they are mature enough to create spontaneous ideas for class activities and explore their interest while staying on task.

While teaching, teachers should bear in mind that one of the principles of instruction with morality-based content is to encourage both sides of arguments and respect students' voice. Together, the goals of lessons, possible input derived from morality or cultural content, teaching approaches and methods, roles of teachers and students, and possible learning assessment connect language mastery with morality and a learner character.

6.4 Learning Assessment

Assessment itself is a hard discipline and often problematic for teachers. In specialized materials with a combination of morality and language learning, materials writers need to help teachers assess students' learning outcomes decently and fairly. Through morality and language learning, students are normally taught to study, analyze, evaluate, and generalize what they have learned based on learning domains. Given this, the nature of learning assessment should reflect the nature of moral education integrated into language instruction so as to facilitate the students' learning process. At a macro level, the materials writers first of all need to understand three pairs of assessment constructs: informal-formal, formative-summative, and process-product (Brown 2001). The materials aiming to foster students to become decent world citizens through morality content and to become linguistically fluent

communicators are quite problematic in terms of assessment validity. For this reason, we need to prioritize the proportion of formal and informal assessment. The former may in the first place be lower than the latter that encourages students' learning processes, where their on-going improvement can be facilitated through the teacher's coaching, feedback, and consultation. The same applies to formative and summative assessment needing certain proportion with the former greater than the latter.

Then, what types of assessments are appropriate for learning tasks with morality-language integration? Traditional assessment? Alternative Assessment? These questions draw materials writers' and teachers' attention to specific types of assessments at a micro level. Morality-based lessons differ from general language ones in that the former are a combination of morality and language learning and thus constitutes the contents, critical thinking, ethical reasoning, and creativity as central to the lessons. With this in mind, materials writers should integrate the perspectives of alternative assessment (Thongrin 2012) by considering students' performance as a main entity of their learning outcomes. As such, interactive performance, performance-based assessment (when students are involved in hands-on projects), opened-ended problems, collaborative learning (e.g., project work or experiments), or learning portfolios should be taken into account. Teachers, through this kind of assessment, can observe how students learn, what kind of problems they encounter, how they feel while dealing with such problems, and what they have learned in each teaching/learning task. Such reflective questions encourage students' learning engagements as learning processes rather than final products. This means that we need to tailor assessment criteria that allocate students' knowledge and creative thinking, participation and interaction, learning involvement and responsibility in relation to the morality or values laden in such lessons, and the notion of language mastery proportionately.

To foster student autonomy, learning involvement and motivation, some of which influence students' learning, materials writers may integrate another form of alternative assessments, self-assessment, and peer assessment. In the assessment process, students are coached to evaluate themselves and peers, using some of these guiding questions:

- What have we/I learned in terms of the world, morality, and language?
- What benefits have we/I gained from the lesson?
- What caused us/me some feeling of discomfort?
- What could have helped us/me improve our/my knowledge and language skills more?

However, as learners may not feel familiar with this kind of assessment, the materials writers may incorporate this assessment type as a supplement to other types of assessment, so students are taught to liberate themselves gradually.

What I found helpful and practical is students' learning journals. In a study of mine (Thongrin 2009), I found that students could become more reflective and reveal their learning autonomy through learning journals, where they can reflect on what they have learned, not confining themselves with language and content but

going beyond these, and finally having critical minds toward themselves and their society. To use journals systematically, we may apply what Brown (2001, p. 418) suggests:

- Specify to students what the purpose of the journal is.
- Give clear directions to students on how to get started. Sometimes an abbreviated model journal helps.
- Give guidelines on length of each entry and any other format expectations.
- Collect journals on pre-announced dates and return them promptly.
- Be clear on the principal purpose of the journal and make sure [our] feedback speaks to that purpose.
- Help students to process [our] feedback, and show them how to respond to [our] responses.

The same guidelines with some adjustments can be used with leaning portfolios that show students' work and progress in learning topics. This type of assessment focuses on students' learning accomplishment, so students are guided in how to evaluate acceptable works to be included in the portfolios. Through their portfolios, students' learning improvement, and any character or cultural identities constructed could be observed or inferred. This kind of assessment is appropriate when we assess students' learning process, attitudes, and their characteristics constructed over time. To help students show their work systematically, we may provide some checklists that reflect learning objectives so what is taught and what is assessed are reciprocally echoed.

Alternatively, a combination of assessment can be used. Any self-reflective assessment that learners integrate into their learning journals and/or project-work papers as the product of their learning can be evaluated through self-assessment and peer assessment or teacher-student assessment. In this way, the students' learning process and product are well reflected. Accordingly, assessments of students' learning derived from morality-integrated materials should be flexible, so the students' language skills, moral knowledge, and ethical reasoning are fairly assessed.

7 Conclusion

Research in language education suggests that materials should carry students' representations of reality regardless of any learning contexts. As language learning is not values-free, how we write learning materials certainly influences learners' language mastery as well as their life skills and cultural identities. The functions of materials are pedagogically varied. Materials are teachers, learning kits, and identity-socializing resources. As we can see, materials do their jobs beyond what we may imagine. The same is true for ELT materials writers as we can do our jobs beyond the learners' language knowledge and skills. Language learners do not simply learn language; they are expected to take on many more roles in addition to their orthodox one. Learners in Asian countries should be encouraged to become decent

citizens of societies where language and culture, differences and respect, and morality and identities can be harmoniously complementary. To access such pathways, materials writers need to take into account some perspectives in terms of cultural representations, critical pedagogy, and moral education. As a result, textbooks, course materials, or lessons designed and developed with cultural contents—both local and global—are believed to enhance students' knowledge far beyond their immediate necessities.

With the guidelines the chapter has provided, ELT practices, through materials development, can take on this role, creating strong learners of desirable character—academically and ethically, and bringing Asian communities into a peacefully globalized world. Given that the guidelines are flexible for each purpose of the materials developed, materials writers can tailor any of the discussed points to suit the needs of their materials audience, which will vary from one socio-cultural context to another. Now, we accept that language teachers are one of the principal agents of learners' knowledge and morality, which could influence their lives later on. Here what Lawrence Kohlberg said a long time ago may be worth attention:

> Why are decisions based on universal principles of justice better decisions? Because they are decisions on which all moral people could agree.... Truly moral or just resolutions of conflicts require principles which are, or can be, universally applicable. (Kohlberg 1970, p. 1)

If this statement is true and recognized, then materials writers and teachers like us have many things to do.

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Re-contextualizing ELT Materials: The Case of Southeast Asia (SEA)

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Abstract This chapter highlights four important issues. To begin with, it addresses the role of context in the design of ELT materials because each of the language materials has different pedagogical goals in order to meet different needs of learner groups. For this reason, language teachers as materials developers need to re-contextualize the design and use of ELT materials. In this chapter, we also argue for the role of language materials as a cultural artifact because language materials can feature different cultural and moral values. With this in mind, we highlight a pressing need for incorporating values into ELT materials. In the remaining section, we offer practical guidelines on value-based language materials writing.

Keywords Cultural artifact • ELT • Language materials design and use • Re-contextualization • Role of context • Values

1 Introduction: The Role of Context in the Design of ELT Materials

Language learning and teaching cannot be carried out in a vacuum. This pedagogical enterprise is political, complex, and always socially embedded within and influenced by its broader socio-political and sociocultural contexts. Teaching situations

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in any languages are unique in their own way. The ways in which values and moral issues are realized in the classroom, for instance, are also uniquely complex, subtle, and all omnipresent. In this respect, to address value dimensions in language education especially in the English classroom, designing materials in ELT in each situation, therefore, needs to take into account contextual elements of learners, teachers, classrooms, and institutions (McDonough et al. 2013). This contextual factor deals with social actors (e.g., teachers and students) and micro-macro environments where ELT materials are designed and used.

Since language learning is contextually dynamic, contextual sensitivity is a foundation for the design of language materials and pedagogical methods in ELT. For example, designing, using, and incorporating cultural and moral values into ELT materials should not be thought and done in isolation from a learner's specific sociocultural context in which language learning and teaching are to take place. In this regard, teachers, moral agents, should be always sensitive to individual learners' different backgrounds, characters, and needs. Particularly in today's globalized and culture-hybrid context where ELT landscapes around the world have been changing, adapting and/or being affected by the influx of changes driven by immigration, globalization and the neo-liberalism world order, it is very pivotal for English teachers to keep up with these changes. Language teachers need to revisit their material design schemes, revise, and keep them relevant to the learner.

In some SEA countries (e.g., Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam), the changes in socio-political climates (e.g., the boom of tourism industry) might have an immense impact on the people's values, beliefs and ways of life. To some extent, educational sectors might not be able to avoid those changes. The educational policy, language programs and classroom practices will thus be affected by all means. For example, some learning materials and methods once used to be appropriate and effective might not be applicable to the current digital classroom any more. Some changes might not fit in language ideology and might go against established conventional classroom rules. These components vary from one context to another and will affect not only the design concept but also the implementation of learning materials in the classroom. As a teaching situation in each socio-institutional setting has its own special characteristics, problems, and difficulties, understanding the context is therefore another critical step in language materials design. Therefore, language teachers should be keen on de-constructing language classroom materials to catch up with changing landscapes.

Major contextual factors can be classified into different aspects: learners and setting aspects (McDonough et al. 2013); social, educational, pupil, and teachers variables (Hedge 2000); learners, teachers, and situations (Nation and Macalister 2010); and sociocultural context (Holliday 1994, 2005). First and foremost, the design of ELT materials needs to take the learner's background into account. Key characteristics of the learner background include age, characteristics, needs, interests, level of proficiency, aptitude, mother tongue, academic level, attitudes towards learning, motivation, reasons for learning, preferred learning styles, and personality. Learners with different contextual factors have different learning needs. These learner characteristics or "variables" (McDonough et al. 2013, p.6) influence a language materials design in terms of planning and using language materials.

Learners' age, personality, and preferred learning style, for example, might affect choices of topics, lesson plans, and methodological design if teachers intend to address moral dimensions in the classroom. Too young learners might not be ready or are not capable to be introduced into the moral discussion. For this reason, teachers should consider the aspect of the suitability of ELT materials and methods that fit with the learners' age and their character types. Understanding learner characteristics will help assess suitable activities that are available and accessible in a particular language classroom.

Another equally crucial aspect of context is learner's setting. This includes not only the physical teaching and learning environment but also the sociocultural setting. This factor plays an important role in helping teachers determine whether the design and implementation of ELT materials and methods are feasible in the first place and successful or not in the end. In some contexts, the physical features of the setting such as hot or cold temperature can often determine the suitability of both materials and methods. The weather may be so problematic that they might affect the initial point in constructing materials design and accommodate the moral issues directly in the materials. As a result, the environment reality in such a situation might not allow teachers to move forward to include moral discourse in English language learning and teaching. Otherwise, teachers need to find ways to adopt attitude indirectly that helps develop moral philosophy to learners.

In addition to the physical environment such as noises, class size, and weather, such sociocultural environments as local norms and beliefs and sub-cultures can determine the choices of materials and methods. For example, in some countries (e.g., Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia), some textbooks contain topics or issues that are sensitive to local beliefs and cultures (e.g., prostitution, woman exploitation, free sex). Addressing such topics might have an impact on the whole community's way of life. Other contextual factors include teachers, an availability of resources, linguistic environments, the role and status of English in a certain community, the role of English in school, institutional management and administration, resources, classroom rules, supportive human resources, time, assessment, and sociocultural constraints.

First, take the factor of teachers, who are always at the front line of a classroom, as an example. Their status at both institutional and national levels, teacher's profile in terms of training, teaching experiences, mother tongue, attitudes to their job, and expectations will play an important role in value cultivation issues in English language programs. In addition, teachers are affected by all the aforementioned learner and setting variables. To be specific, the deployment of ELT materials and resources in addressing moral education, for instance, stems from the teachers' decision in the first place. The success of language programs, to some degree, depends on how much teachers are capable of equipping themselves with the right tools for ataining an achievable goal.

Another important element is the availability of resources: both simple and complex resources. These resources include books, audio-visual materials, quality of chairs and tables, availability of electric power, laboratories, and computers (both hardware and software), and the Internet. In this digital era, we are all aware that in

certain remote areas, classrooms are run under the limitations of everything. On a regular basis, course planning, syllabus design, and the selection of classroom materials and resources in these sites are not available or not adequate for teachers to put lessons into practice. Simply put, geographical isolation in this case might not have access to desired and modern materials, such as computers, Internet, and Wi-Fi. Thus, it might hinder any moral education programs to take place. Moreover, the role and status of English in a certain country and its place in the school's curriculum are also crucial. Whether it is as a means of everyday communication or primarily a requirement in school curriculum affects ELT materials design and development. This factor is regarded as a linguistic environment for moral education programs.

To sum up, for most EFL/ESL teachers in many settings around the world, addressing moral dimensions in English education should be contextually realistic or should not ignore a situation affected by the aforementioned factors. To reiterate, different countries and communities are contextually unique and vibrant. Each community has different educational system, language ideologies, and historical backgrounds. These differences will lead to the design and selection of an appropriate type of syllabus content and specification. Therefore, revisiting localized materials and design of language programs from time to time might be a plausible way out to foster moral education programs.

2 Seeing ELT Materials as a Cultural Artifact

For critical discourse analysts, discourse or the use of language in oral and written texts is a social act. As such, any discourse, including ELT materials is both "socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 258). Discourse is socially conditioned because it embodies the beliefs, habits, and social practices of the context that produced it. On the other hand, discourse is socially constitutive because it participates in the passing on of these beliefs and practices.

As a form of discourse, ELT materials are therefore grounded in a specific community where beliefs, habits and social practices find their materials form in both culture and language. They are the products of "complex selective processes reflecting political decisions, educational beliefs and priorities, cultural realities and language policies" (Weninger and Curdt-Christiansen 2015, p. 1). They are "cultural artefacts" (Gray 2000) embedded in the world; thus, when readers read these materials, they necessarily read the ideological, cultural, political and social forces that have shaped these texts. Additionally, because discourse is socially constitutive, ELT materials can become a means of influencing individuals to accept a community's dominant values, beliefs, and assumptions in the guise of universal values or meaning.

ELT materials do all this through content and language. Through readings and activities in ELT materials and the way these materials are presented, language learners are shaped to think and behave in a particular way, often reflecting what society deems acceptable. Because ELT textbooks are written by authors who have

been strongly influenced and shaped by their cultural context, "[t]he topical and linguistic contents of the books are necessarily engulfed in the cultural structures" (Zarei and Khalessi 2011). At the same time, learners participate in this "socialization" and "reproduction" of cultural structures and values because they are "involv[ed] … in the creation of social meanings through the presentation of particular social realities arbitrarily selected" (Dendrinos 1992, p. 195).

A cultural content of textbooks has been described in different ways. Kim and Paek (2015) and Chao (2011) use Moran's (2001 in Kim and Paek 2015, p.87) five dimensions of culture: *products (*artifacts, places, institutions, art forms*), practices (*operations, acts, scenarios, lives*), perspectives* (beliefs, values and attitudes)*, communities* (social contexts, circumstances, groups), and *persons*. Yuen (2011, p. 459) describes the aspects of culture in ELT textbooks in terms of *products* (system of code)*, practices* (communication)*, perspectives* (thoughts), and *persons*. Chao (2011, p. 197) operationalizes culture in textbooks in terms of *source culture* (local culture)*, target culture* (culture of inner circle countries)*, international culture* (culture of outer and expanding circle countries, excluding local culture), *intercultural interaction* (comparison of local and international culture), and *universality across culture* (general content, without specific reference to any culture).

The cultural content of ELT textbooks is also often referred to as the *hidden curriculum* -- "unstated norms, values, and beliefs transmitted through the underlying structure of schooling" (Giroux 1978, p.148). These are the underlying assumptions or hidden agenda that seek to uphold the interests and values of certain cultures or groups of people. Several studies have investigated the cultural content of ELT textbooks, most of which conclude that ELT textbooks used in different contexts remain to be artifacts of inner circle countries, particularly, American culture (Matsuda 2002; Basabe 2006; Lee 2009; Chao 2011; Zarei and Khalessi 2011; Caukill 2011; Chao 2011; Dinh and Sharifian 2017; Kim 2012; Ping 2015). In these textbooks, the English language is depicted as used mostly by people from the inner circles for inter and intra cultural communication. As such, the cultural practices, values and beliefs of these inner circle countries are represented more in the ELT textbooks.

Basabe (2006) concluded that ELT textbooks presented a "world … in which the English speaking countries are not only linguistic but also cultural 'targets' the globe has to aspire to, imitate and follow" (p.69). In the same way, Yuen (2011) observed that the ELT textbooks mostly dealt with the culture of inner circle countries, with the African culture as the least covered. Among the inner circle countries, America and its culture seem to be the most represented in the textbooks used in China (Ping 2015); however, the Chinese culture remained to be positively portrayed, with Ping concluding that this is done as a means of "societal control" (p. 177). ELT textbooks in Korea likewise excluded the cultures of the outer circle users of English, with some textbooks presenting other cultures as "filthy" and "dangerous" (Lee 2009, p. 82). In addition to the preference for illustrations of Caucasian English teachers in the textbooks analyzed, Kim (2012) also saw the pervasiveness of "gender bias, racial discrimination, and biases based in ethnicity, nationality, social class and minority status"(p. 37) in ELT textbooks used in Korea. Tajeddin and Teimournezhad (2015) noted as well the absence of reference to the

local culture of the learners in both international and localized textbooks. With the pervasiveness of the culture and lifestyle of the "affluent, western and middle class" (Caukill 2011, p. 65) in the textbooks analyzed, language learners are not exposed to the different users and types of English in the world today. Xu (2013), however, found that ELT materials used in secondary schools in China covered the cultures of non-inner circle speakers of English, and in fact offered perspectives of and across different cultures.

Nault (2006) sees this "culture-bound nature of ELT materials" (p. 322) as problematic. Values and practices that may seem to be harmless or acceptable in one sociocultural context may not be so across cultural contexts. Furthermore, values that are passed off as universal or natural are in fact very specific to a particular culture and group (Belsey 1990). The development of English as an International Language (EIL) necessitates the need for ELT materials writers to include intercultural competence and multicultural awareness. Additionally, because English is no longer just used by inner circle countries to communicate with one another, but also by outer and expanding circle countries to communicate within and across the circles, the discourses, cultures and perspectives of users of English from inner, outer and expanding circles will have to be included in ELT materials for "international understanding" (Matsuda 2002).

3 Needs for Incorporating Cultural or Moral Content into ELT Materials

Two recent major developments within the field of applied linguistics/TESOL have led to a renewed interest in the concept of cultural representation in ELT. To begin with, the pedagogy of English as an International Language (e.g. McKay 2002, 2012) calls for a reconsideration of the status quo of cultures and their representation in ELT textbooks (Cortazzi and Jin 1999; Nault 2006). Risager (2007) points out that the inclusion of cultural content in language education necessarily involves the creation of 'cultural representations', which are "built up in discourses, and … convey images or narratives of culture and society in particular contexts" (p. 180). However, Kubota (2003) maintains that the discourses that produce the images often arise within unequal power relations. For example, English proficiency has often been associated with progress, enlightenment, and economic opportunity, which Pennycook (1998) terms discourse of colonialism. Because such discursive associations between English language and English-speaking countries, many English language learners find English and its associated cultural values and practices to be a significant threat to their local identities (Canagarajah 1999; Ryan 1998). Moreover, the ELT profession has also been critiqued for constructing discursive representations of learners' cultural identities (Kubota 1999; McKay and Wong 1996); for example, Asian students are passive, obedient, and harmony-oriented. Those cultural representations in ELT will not get the learners beyond

using "their own cultural system to interpret … messages whose intended meaning may be well predicated on quite different cultural assumption" (Cortazzi and Jin 1999, p. 197).

Thus, scholars suggest that cultural representations in ELT must be viewed from intercultural perspectives (Risager 2007), situated within "the relationships between different societies and the effect of these relationships on repertoires of language users and their potential to construct voice" (Blommaert 2005, p. 15). In order to address the complexity of these relationships, teaching materials and activities necessarily "function as a form of cultural politics by inclusion (or exclusion) of aspects of social, economic, political, or cultural reality (Cortazzi and Jin 1999, p. 200). According to McKay (2002, p.12), a key use of English as an international language is "to allow speakers to tell others about their ideas and culture." Kubota (1999) initiates the term 'critical multiculturalism" that views culture "as a site of political and ideological struggles over meaning" (p. 30) to problematize cultural representations. This multicultural turn encourages language teachers to re-situate and recognize multilingual repertoires of learners with their multilingual resources (May 2014).

The second major development, very much aligned with the first one, is the development of the critical turn in language and intercultural communication pedagogy, stemming from the field of critical pedagogy (Dasli and Diaz 2017). The critical turn in applied linguistics is described by Kumaravadivelu (2008) as connecting word to the world and the recognition of language as an ideology not just as a system. It is also about the realization of the social, cultural and political dynamism of language use. Language learning and teaching are thus more than learning and teaching language. It has to go beyond the acquisition of language skills and communicative competence to the critical examination of the cultural and sociopolitical context in which it occurs. As Benesch (2001) puts it, critical pedagogy is used as a means of linking the linguistic text, sociopolitical context and the academic content with the larger community for the purpose of changing classroom input and interaction into effective instruments of social transformation. Kumaravadivelu (2008) and Byram (2008, 2011) have called for global cultural consciousness and intercultural citizenship as key outcomes of second language learning. As these scholars contend, second language education, including EFL education, must have a transformative goal that can only be achieved through cultural reflection and understanding within a critically oriented pedagogy. As Kumaravadivelu (2008) notes,

> The task of promoting global cultural consciousness in the classroom can hardly be accomplished unless a concerted effort is made to use materials that will prompt learners to confront some of the taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about the Self and the Other (p. 189).

Given that language and culture are intertwined, ELT textbooks remain the dominant medium for providing EFL learners with examples of target language usage, cultural content, and information. In other words, textbooks play the role of cultural mediators as they transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions, and images. A set of cultural values embedded in the textbooks (Cunningsworth 1995; Hinkel 1999) shapes students' cultural awareness, perceptions, and knowledge

(Cunningsworth 1995; Hinkel 1999). Textbooks thus play a pivotal role in the success of language education's socially transformative agenda, and a great deal of research has examined culture in English language textbooks. However, most of these investigations only look into the role of textbooks as carriers of cultural information. Such an approach, we believe, is not sufficient. As cultural meaning is socially constructed by the interaction of different perspectives (Kramsch 1998), two issues need to be considered and further researched. The first issue concerns the cultural content of the textbooks. The selection of cultural content to be included in the textbook can be guided by the definition of culture.

Byram (1988, p. 82) defines culture as knowledge which is "shared and negotiated between people", and "much of that knowledge is symbolically expressed in artifacts and behaviours and is formulated as rules, norms, expectations, as moral and legal codes, as proverbs, as parental injunctions to children." In other words, cultural values to be included in the textbooks need to encompass moral values. Moreover, in the contemporary globalized world, even small culture groups and their associated practices, values and perspectives may be transnational in scope (McKay 2002; Risager 2007) to avoid falling into the trap of cultural stereotype and the extremist promotion of nationalism, which is the product of cultural essentialism. Therefore, it is important to recognize that groups of any size are culturally heterogeneous and sometimes conflicted; that cultural values and moral values inevitably change over time; and that individuals experience cultural participation subjectively, in accordance with their cultural positioning (Kramsch 1998). In addition, cultural content needs to be relatable and meaningful to the particular group of learners, as ample empirical evidence has suggested that learners learn better when they can relate to learning materials and find the materials real and meaningful to themselves (Matsuda 2012). It would be unproductive if learners find the reality represented in the teaching materials too culturally alien to them.

According to Gray (2002), EFL textbooks ought to be engaging as a bearer of messages, and students learning a language should be greatly encouraged to regard materials as more than linguistic objects. In addition, students should be allowed to voice their own opinions. It is at this point that the global textbook could be changed to a useful instrument for provoking cultural debate and, simultaneously, a genuine educational tool. Given the major publishers' abiding concentration on marketing 'one-size-fits-all' global course books, local, and regional initiatives seem to offer the most promising ways of developing and producing materials that can meet the local students' intercultural needs.

The second issue is related to the locally appropriate cultural pedagogy. Matsuda (2012, p. 178) points out that

> While users often have a view of teaching materials (especially published ones) as an objective collection of information, they are indeed a cultural artifact that represents and promotes certain values, whether intentional or unintentional (Hino 1998). Thus, values represented in teaching materials could potentially come into direct conflict with that of teachers and students. Dissonance created by such conflict itself is not necessarily a bad thing: the exposure to different values broadens one's perspective and provides a learning opportunity.

So, towards the development of learners' global cultural consciousness and intercultural citizenship as the key goal of English language education in the twenty-first century, language pedagogy should be driven by a critical pedagogy approach, which emphasizes the development of critical thinking skills through engagement in such learning tasks as discussing, analyzing, generalizing, and evaluating cultural information.

4 Conclusions: Practical Guidelines on the Design of Value-Based ELT Materials

We have delineated the re-contextualization of ELT materials development, the role of ELT materials as a cultural artifact, and the needs for including cultural and moral values in ELT materials. In this last section, we would like to provide practical guidelines on the design of value-based ELT materials. This addresses the fact that language materials play a pivotal role in shaping the teaching and learning of language. When designing ELT materials in practice, we have to take into account seven main elements of ELT materials: (1) guiding theory, (2) authenticity, (3) topics, (4) knowledge and language, (5) texts and contexts, (6) tasks or activities, and (7) pedagogical prompts. These elements reflect the core of ELT materials.

To begin with, theoretical orientation or guiding theory provides the basis for designing any ELT materials. In the case of value-based materials design, language teachers can make use of particular guiding theory (e.g., critical language pedagogy, critical moral theory, sociocultural theory, social semiotics, critical discourse, cultural linguistics) to design learning tasks or activities (e.g., task-based language activities, text-based learning tasks). Learning tasks or activities should go beyond the remit of learning exercises, limiting the scope of a learning task itself. More importantly, these tasks or activities should reflect the core of guiding theory chosen. In other words, the presentation of value content should be manifested through learning texts and tasks guided by the chosen guiding theory.

In language materials design, MacDonald, Badger and Dasli (2006) conceptualize *authenticity* as an attribute of language, text, and materials, such as authentic language, authentic text, and authentic materials. We argue that authenticity is the actual use of language (e.g., English), texts (e.g., text of illegal logging), and tasks (e.g., discussing industrialization and illegal logging). In value-based language materials design, authentic language, text, and materials should be relevant to learners' sociocultural knowledge (e.g., the value of working together in Indonesia and Malaysia), social practices (e.g., *Id-ul-Fitr* celebration in Brunei Darussalam), and discourses (e.g., the discourse of Lunar New Year or *Tet* in Vietnam). In other words, authenticity in language materials deals with a number of such important issues as actual users or actors (e.g., learners and their interlocutors of other cultures), communicative and social purposes (e.g., moral campaigns of illegal logging), contexts (e.g., the use of moral and cultural values in a certain social event), and social practices (e.g., wedding celebration in Thailand).

The third element of materials is selection of topics. Identifying topics is a catalyst for selecting texts. Topics of student interest underlie a language lesson in which the presentation of topics varies from one genre to another. Specifically in value-based materials, a theme is also a crucial component of value knowledge construction. Specifying cultural and moral content in materials also frames topics of interest relevant to what students experience in sociocultural encounters (e.g., handshaking and hugging as well as wedding and national rituals). In deciding value-relevant themes, language teachers need to know core values of learners' lives and other values of other cultures in different communities, cities, regions, and countries, such as respect for parents and ancestors, making living for family, celebrating national holidays, and working together. These core values can narrow down the scope of language materials. Because values are socially tied to sociocultural norms, language teachers should think of a range of geographical contexts (e.g., East Java and Borneo in Indonesia or South Thailand and North Thailand) and ethnic groups (e.g., the Javanese and the Dayak or the Siamese and the Tai Ya). It is important to note that language materials cannot cover everything, but language teachers can prioritize which value topics are relevant to learner language learning and value learning in tandem. Topics of lessons also play a crucial role in the selection of knowledge and language in language materials.

Another element of language materials includes knowledge and language. Knowledge builds on the interpretation of the world. The construction of knowledge is associated with language development. From a sociocultural perspective, language is a tool for sense making of knowledge. For this reason, language is always tied with knowledge. Without language, no knowledge can be presented. In language materials design, knowledge of cultural and moral values has specialized language, such as love of God derived from religious values, respect for authority derived from institutional values, gender equality stemming from feminist values, and eco-tourism stemming from environmental values. To understand this value knowledge, students need to experience and engage with texts of these values.

Texts and contexts are another element of language materials. Any text is always situated in social environments where it is socio-historically constructed. Halliday (1999) pinpoints that "the environment for language as text is the context of situation, and the environment for language as system is the context of culture" (p. 1). This suggests that texts are socially interpreted in relation to context, which involves social actors, texts, social events, and communicative purposes (genres). To design value-based language materials, teachers should include value texts, which are created, distributed, and used in particular geographic and social contexts (e.g., Java in Indonesia or Hanoi in Vietnam) so that students will be familiar with the context of text production, distribution, and usage. In short, the selection of value texts should be based on the authenticity of text and task use in a particular sociocultural context (e.g., communicative events in West Borneo-Indonesia). The interpretation of the texts involves different contextual factors (e.g., culture of people, social practices of ethnic groups).

Learning tasks or activities are a crucial part of language materials. Task design is geared to encourage students' engagement with texts and activities (Widodo 2015). In some case, it is manifestation of teacher intention. In practice, students interpret learning tasks or activities differently. The task design can be grounded in three approaches: a content-based approach, a text-based approach, and a task-based approach. Using the content-based approach, language teachers can design learning tasks based on value contents relevant to learner needs and target institutional needs. Informed by the text-based approach, the teacher starts with the presentation of value texts that students can work on. The students engage in different text-based learning tasks based on text-based cycles, such as (1) exploring or navigating text, (2) using and experiencing the text, (4) constructing text, (5) presenting the created text, and (6) assesing the text (see Mickan and Lopez 2017; Widodo 2015). Based on the task-based approach, the teacher can design learning activities, which include pre-task, while-task, and post-task learning cycles. Without learning tasks or activities, students will not learn something although they are given texts. The design of task depends on the goals of doing particular learning activities. The nature of learning tasks can be interactional (meaning making and negotiation) and transactional (information and product-service exchange). Equally important, learning tasks should provide students with varied opportunities to use language to perform particular learning tasks.

Instructional prompts are instructive information or an informational map that guides students to perform learning tasks or activities. They can regulate student learning. Questions, hints, instructive statements, or instructions are geared to maximize student engagement in learning. In value-based language materials, the following instructional prompts encourage student engagement: *Navigate and select two different multimodal texts (the use of verbal text and visual text together) of illegal logging in a newspaper/a magazine and an official website. Compare the use of value-laden language represented in the two texts in relation to vocabulary and grammar. Do these two tasks in groups of 3–4 students*. In these instructions, students are given two series of tasks. First, they have to search for and choose a text of the same value-related topic but with different genres such as the magazine/newspaper and the official website. Second, they engage in lexico-grammatical analysis of the two texts. Methodologically speaking, these tasks encourage students to engage in collaborative learning, group work. Thus, actual learning tasks or activities along with appropriate prompts can help students to realize what is supposed to do.

Language teachers as materials designers or developers can also take into account student prior knowledge and experience. This knowledge and experience serves as a starting point for making sense of texts and tasks because students always have their own background knowledge (funds of knowledge). In this respect, language teachers consider these important factors: students' linguistic resources, their knowledge of values, students' level of cultural and socio-pragmatic competences, their understanding of specific value-relevant topics and registers, and their communicative/discursive repertoires.

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